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EUSEBIUS

EUSEBIUS

BISHOP OF CÆSAREA

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND THE MARTYRS OF PALESTINE

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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VOLUME II

INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND INDEX

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ERRATA IN VOL. I

P. 17, l. 4 *from end, insert in margin,* **6.**
P. 40, l. 3 *from end, insert in margin,* 7.
P. 159, l. 26, *read* **Otrous** *for* Otrus.
P. 164, l. 14, *read* convicted *for* judged.
P. 184, l. 11, *read* **Antoninus** *for* Antonius.
P. 200, l. 10 *from end, insert in margin,* **30.**
P. 205, l. 2, *insert in margin,* **5.**
P. 232, ll. 38, 42, 48, *insert in margin,* 5, 6, 7.
P. 261, l. 22, *read* Mauretania *for* Mauritania.
P. 358, Textual notes, ll. 5, 6, *read* two MSS. . . . remain have *for* single MS. . . . remains has.

INTRODUCTION

Eusebius seems to have been born shortly after 260,[1] and apparently at Cæsarea. There at all events he had his earliest instruction in the Faith and was baptized.[2] But of his parents nothing is known. He was a presbyter at Cæsarea,[3] and it was his home throughout his lifetime, though from it he paid visits to other cities, such as Jerusalem, where he found some material for his *Ecclesiastical History*,[4] Cæsarea Philippi,[5] Tyre [6] and Antioch,[7] at which he became acquainted with Dorotheus and perhaps Lucian.[8] The most noteworthy event in the earlier life of Eusebius was his introduction to the famous scholar and martyr, Pamphilus,[9] from whom he took his name, Eusebius Pamphili, Eusebius the son,[10] or the friend, of Pamphilus. They met for the first time at Cæsarea in the episcopate of Agapius, and therefore probably some time before the Great Persecution began.[11] In Pamphilus' library Eusebius studied,[12] in Pamphilus's labours on the Biblical text he had his share,[13] in his school of Christian learning he was a zealous assistant. The two men were subsequently imprisoned together, and in the prison they collaborated in literary work.[14] "But Eusebius owed far more to Pamphilus than the impulse and direction given to his studies. Pamphilus was no mere student recluse. . . . To the sympathy of the friend he united the courage of the hero. . . . To one like Eusebius, who owed his strength and his weakness alike to a ready susceptibility of impression

[1] He says (*H.E.* iii. 28. 3; *Præp. Ev.*, xiv. 27) that Dionysius (†264: see note, p. 265) was bishop of Alexandria in his day; and he begins his account of his "own generation" with the accession of Dionysius, bishop of Rome, and Paul, bishop of Antioch, *i.e.*, according to his chronology, *c.* 267 (vii. 26. 3; 27. 1, and notes).

[2] See his letter in Socrates, *H.E.*, i. 8, and Theodoret, *H.E.* i. 11.

[3] *Ibid.* [4] vi. 20. 1. [5] vii. 18. 3.

[6] viii. 7. 2; x. 4. 1.

[7] vii. 32. 2, 4. Lightfoot places his meeting with Dorotheus at Cæsarea, apparently by an oversight.

[8] ix. 6. 3, note. [9] *M.P.* 11. 1, note.

[10] So Gifford (*Eus. Pamph. Evang. Præp.* iii. pp. vi-xi), who supposes that he was the spiritual son (cp. vi. 14. 9), or even the legally adopted son, of Pamphilus.

[11] vii. 32. 24 and note, 25. [12] vi. 32. 3.

[13] Jer., *V.I.* 81; cp. *M.P.* 11. 1, note. [14] See p. 6.

from those about him, such a friendship was an inestimable blessing." [1]

Throughout the first eight years of the Great Persecution Eusebius was in Palestine.[2] But about the time when the recantation of Galerius was issued—May 311—he went to Egypt.[3] There, no doubt, he found the letter of the Egyptian bishop Phileas,[4] the long extract from which is not the least interesting portion of the eighth book of his *History*. His sojourn in Egypt was prolonged. He did not return to Cæsarea, as it seems, till late in the year 312, possibly not till the last persecution of Maximin had run its course.[5] He was promoted to the episcopate of Cæsarea apparently in 313 or 314.[6] But it is unnecessary for our purpose to follow the story of his career any further. It will suffice to say that in later years he became an intimate friend of the Emperor Constantine, and took a leading part in the discussions at the Council of Nicæa, and that he died on 30 May, 339,[7] just two years after his imperial patron. The student will consult Lightfoot's exhaustive article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. ii, pp. 308–348. The remainder of this Introduction will deal with the group of his writings translated in vol. i, which may be regarded as a single work.

I. *The Evolution of the Work.*

The tenth book of the *Ecclesiastical History* includes an account of the civil war between Constantine and Licinius. It records the death of the latter emperor and the festivities which followed it.[8] It is clear therefore that the book was not finished till a considerable time after the estrangement between Constantine and Licinius, which took place in September 324.[9] On the other hand, Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, who was put to death in 326, was still alive when Eusebius wrote;[10] and there is no allusion to the Council of Nicæa (June, 325),[11] which could hardly have been ignored if it had already taken place. Moreover, the book was dedicated to Bishop Paulinus, who seems to have died before the Council met.[12] Thus there can be little doubt that it was published at the end of 324 or early in 325.

But Book x proclaims itself a supplement to the *History*.[13]

[1] Lightfoot in *D.C.B.* ii. 310.
[2] vii. 32. 28. Cp. *M.P.* 4. 6, 8, 14; 9. 13.
[3] viii. 9. 4 and note. Cp. pp. 8, 9, below. [4] viii. 9. 4, note; 10.
[5] On this supposition we can account for the absence of reference to Palestine in *H.E.*, Book ix. The Palestinian Christians can hardly have been left in peace during the reign of terror recorded in that book.
[6] x. 4. 1, note. [7] So Lightfoot, *D.C.B.* ii. 318 f.
[8] x. 9. 5–7. [9] x. 4. 1, second note. [10] x. 9. 6, 9.
[11] Hefele, § 26. [12] x.1. 2 and note. [13] x. 1. 2.

We may accordingly assume that previous to its composition there was in circulation an edition which is represented by Books i–ix. Now the closing sentences of Book ix show that when it was written Eusebius was unaware of the estrangement between Constantine and Licinius in 314;[1] while he was able to record in it the death of Maximin (October (?), 313)[2] and the text of the Ordinance of Milan,[3] which probably did not come into his hands while Maximin was alive. Thus the book would seem to have been completed late in 313 or early in 314—eleven years before the composition of Book x.

But if that date is accepted, as it was by Westcott and Lightfoot,[4] it is obvious that some changes were made in the text of Book ix when Book x was added to it. Thus on two occasions it is said that Licinius had not yet been seized with "the madness" into which he afterwards fell.[5] Eusebius is evidently alluding to his conduct recorded in the last two chapters of Book x.[6] The phrases could not have been penned before October 314, and they suit so ill the context in which they stand as to betray themselves as interpolations. In like manner the description of Licinius as he "who was then ruling"[7] must belong to the period after his downfall. Again, in place of the closing sentence of Book ix, which implies that Constantine and Licinius were in accord, and that the persecution was over, an important group of authorities has a sentence which is identical with the beginning of Book x, and makes no reference to Licinius. The earlier ending obviously could not stand here in the completed work. It appears, with some necessary revision, as the conclusion of Book x, while the Ordinance of Milan, to which it led up, finds its final place in the same book.[8] It is almost certain that its somewhat inept substitute was put in its stead when these transpositions were effected—*i.e.* when the tenth book was written.[9]

At the same time no doubt other alterations were made in Book ix and its predecessors which we cannot now detect with certainty. Probably one of these is the excision of the name and titles of Licinius from the toleration edict of Galerius. They must have appeared in the first edition, but are omitted by most of the authorities for the text.[10]

It appears, then, that an edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* was issued early in 314 in nine books. But we may go further. There is good evidence that the first edition comprised only eight books, and that the edition of 314 consisted of a revised recension of it, together with the newly written

[1] See note, p. 268. [2] See note, p. 289. [3] ix. 11. 9, notes.
[4] Westcott, *The Two Empires*, p. 6; Lightfoot in *D.C.B.* ii. 322 f.
[5] ix. 9. 1, 12. [6] Note especially x. 8. 9. [7] ix. 10. 3.
[8] x. 5. 2–14. [9] See ix. 11. 9, notes; x. 9. 9.
[10] viii. 17. 3–5, note.

ninth book. Let us turn to the first chapter of Book i, where in one long sentence Eusebius sets out the purpose of his work. He there tells us that he will discourse upon "the successions from the holy apostles" and several other topics, including the persecutions which the Church suffered in earlier times. And then he proceeds: "The martyrdoms, after these things, that took place in our day also, and the gracious and kindly succour of our Saviour at the end of all: these it is my purpose to commit to writing." Thus he tells us, in effect, that the last section of the *History* would record a contemporary persecution, and would close with the return of rest to the Church—a rest which he clearly regarded as destined to be permanent.[1] And the point at which this last section begins is definitely marked. At the end of Book vii he writes, "In these books having concluded the subject of *the successions*, from the birth of our Saviour to the destruction of the places of prayer . . . come, let us next leave in writing . . . what the extent and nature have been of *the conflicts in our own day* of those who manfully contended for piety." The final section is to begin with the first chapter of Book viii. And accordingly the Preface of that book runs thus: "Having concluded the succession from the apostles in seven entire books, *in this eighth treatise* we regard it as one of our most urgent duties to hand down . . . the events of our own day." The eighth book of the *History* was to be the last, and it was to include an account of the persecution of the writer's day. Actually that is its one theme. But its climax is the toleration edict of Galerius, issued in May 311. This "quenched the fire of persecution." With it the war came to an end, and the historian drops no hint that at the time of writing it had been, or was likely to be, resumed.[2] Moreover he emphasizes the fact that the "recantation" was the result of the "kindly and propitious regard" of "the divine and heavenly grace." It was due, not to "any human agency," but to "the manifestation of the divine Providence," now "reconciled to the people" of God.[3] In short, the sufferings of the Christians were brought to a close by "the gracious and kindly succour of our Saviour."[4] Anyone who had read the *History*, with the prefatory summary of the work in his memory, and without knowledge of the ninth and tenth books, would recognize that the writer had reached his promised goal. On the other

[1] This interpretation of the words has been challenged. But that "the succour of our Saviour" means anything else than the cessation of the final persecution—*e.g.*, the divine support of the Church throughout its entire history—seems impossible.

[2] Setting aside the references to "the tenth year" in viii. 15. 1; 16. 1, on which see below.

[3] viii. 16. 1, 2.

[4] i. 1. 2.

hand the close of the ninth book does not in the same degree recall to mind the phrases of the opening sentence of Book i.

Assuming, then, that the first edition of the *History* consisted of Books i–viii, when was Book viii written? The language of viii. 16 forbids the suggestion that it was composed during or after the violent persecution of which Book ix treats. It was penned when the Church enjoyed a peace which promised to be lasting. Now Eusebius tells us that for about six months after the publication of the "recantation" there was no persecution even in the dominion of Maximin.[1] It is evident that the Christians of the East and their pagan neighbours supposed that the final peace had come.[2] They were mistaken; for in November 311 Maximin once more displayed his hostility to the Christians by forbidding assemblies in the cemeteries.[3] But this was probably in far-away Nicomedia,[4] and apparently at that time Eusebius was in Egypt.[5] The prohibition cannot have been known there for some weeks. We may therefore assume that as late as the end of 311 Eusebius still believed that the persecution had ended for ever. In the latter half of that year we may place the composition of Book viii and the issue of the first edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

We are prepared by our experience of Eusebius' procedure in the final edition to find that, when he added Book ix to Books i–viii, he also revised their text. There are in fact not a few passages in them which could not have been written as early as 311. In vii. 32. 31 it is stated that Peter, bishop of Alexandria, was beheaded in the ninth year of the persecution (312). In viii. 9. 4 Eusebius says that he was an eye-witness of the sufferings of certain martyrs in the Thebais. But that he should have been in the Thebais during a period of persecution before 312 is improbable.[6] Hence the whole passage, viii. 9. 1–5, in which the martyrdoms in that district are recorded (or at least §§ 4, 5), must be accounted a later insertion. Again in viii. 13. 1–7 there is a list of seventeen martyrs who were bishops or presbyters. But among them there are at least six who suffered in 312 or 313. The list was therefore enlarged after 311. In viii. 14. 7–16 there is a lengthy description of the crimes of Maximin in which reference is made to various events of the end of 312 and the beginning of 313.[7] The entire passage (with the exception of §§ 13, 14, 16b) was obviously written after 311. The first sentence of viii. 15, and the first sentence of the following chapter, in which the persecution is said to have lasted ten years, have been revised.

[1] ix. 2. [2] ix. 1. 7–11. [3] ix. 2. Cp. note, p. 287.
[4] ix. 9a. 4 and note. [5] See p. 2. [6] viii. 9. 4, note.
[7] See the notes thereon. In § 16b, "in conduct like Maximin" seems to be an interpolation.

The last sentence of viii. 15 is a later addition, if it refers, as it seems to do, to the famine mentioned in ix. 8. Maximin's name is suppressed in the superscription of the toleration of Galerius (viii. 17. 3), doubtless because of his evil deeds recorded in the ninth book. And finally the concluding words of Book viii—"Now it is time to consider carefully what happened subsequently"—were obviously penned when Book ix was added.

These traces of revision are perhaps more numerous than might have been expected. But in most of the passages mentioned there is evidence, apart from chronological considerations, of a re-handling of the original text.[1]

We may now attempt to fix the date at which Eusebius began to write his *Ecclesiastical History*, and to trace the progress of the work up to the completion of the first edition. In the first book we find two references to the *Eclogæ Prophetic*æ of our author.[2] Since the remaining portions of that treatise give evidence that it was written during a period of persecution,[3] the *History* cannot have been taken in hand before 303. Elsewhere in the same book we are told that the forged "Memoirs of our Saviour" had recently been put into circulation.[4] These Memoirs seem to have been concocted shortly after the promotion of Maximin to the purple (1 May, 305).[5] From that event for nearly a year there was no serious persecution in the East.[6] In this period of peace, we may perhaps assume, Eusebius began the *History*. He must have made considerable progress in it by November 308, when Pamphilus was committed to prison.[7] He cannot, however, have advanced then beyond the fifth book; for many months later we find him at work on the early part of Book vi.[8] In fact, during the period of Pamphilus' imprisonment[9] the *History* must have been wholly laid aside. The two friends were then engaged in preparing the *Apology for Origen*, while Pamphilus, and perhaps Eusebius also, found time to pursue their Biblical studies.[10] Five books of the *Apology* had been completed before the martyrdom of Pamphilus (16 February, 310).[11] The remaining book—the sixth—was written by Eusebius,[12] probably within the next few months. Not till after it was finished had Eusebius leisure to return to the *History*. Thrice in Book vi he refers

[1] See the notes on vii. 32. 31; viii. 9. 1–5; 14. 7–16; 15. 2; 16. 1; 17. 3–5.

[2] i. 2. 27; 6. 11. [3] *Ecl. Proph.* i. 8 (p. 26).

[4] i. 9. 2, 3; ix. 5. 1, note. [5] Note, p. 266; ix. 5. 1, note.

[6] ix. 9a. 2, note. [7] *M.P.* 7. 5, 6. [8] vi. 23. 4.

[9] Eusebius shared Pamphilus' captivity. So says Photius, 118: *τὴν δὲ ὑπὲρ Ὠριγένους ἀπολογίαν ὡς ἔφημεν ὁ Πάμφιλος σὺν Εὐσεβίῳ καθειργμένος τῷ οἰκήματι συνεγράψετο.* But see Lightfoot in *D.C.B.* ii. 312.

[10] *M.P.* 9. 5, note. [11] *M.P.* 11. 7.

[12] Photius, *l.c.* Cp. *H.E.* vi. 33. 4; 36. 4.

to the *Apology*, mentioning on one occasion its sixth book.[1] The *Life of Pamphilus* also belongs to this period. Though it is actually referred to in Book vi, it may have been composed somewhat later.[2] It was apparently published before Books vii and viii of the *History*[3] and certainly before the shorter recension of the *Martyrs of Palestine*.[4] The seventh book of the *History* was completed, or nearly completed, before Eusebius left Cæsarea for Egypt.[5]

We turn now to the *Martyrs of Palestine*. It is known in two recensions, a longer (L) and a shorter (S). Both recensions are later than *H.E.* viii. For the promise, "I shall make known to posterity in another work those [martyrs] with whom I was personally conversant,"[6] implies that Eusebius had not yet written a special treatise on the persecution in his own country. But both were published not long after it. At the end of S we note the very same phrases which led us to believe that *H.E.* viii was composed between May and December 311.[7] The *terminus ad quem* for L is less clearly indicated. But when we are told in the last chapter that Silvanus of Gaza and his companions suffered martyrdom on 4 May, 311, and immediately afterwards that the book recorded the events of "the entire time of the persecution among the people of Palestine,"[8] we must take our choice: we may conclude either that the treatise was published before the persecution of Book ix began, or that that persecution did not touch Palestine.[9]

The former of these alternatives must be right, if it can be shown that L is prior in date to S. The question is whether L is an expansion of S, with some omissions, or S is an abridgement of L with additional matter. Lightfoot accepts this view, pointing out the hortatory and didactic character of L, and its appeal to local feeling, which are absent, or nearly so, from S.[10] His conclusion is confirmed by a more detailed examination of the two recensions. Thus in the Preface to L we read, "It is meet that the conflicts which were illustrious in various districts should be committed to writing by those who dwelt with the combatants in their districts. But for me, I pray that I may be able to speak of those with whom I was personally conversant."[11] This is an announcement that Eusebius is about to redeem the promise of viii. 13. 7, and through the Syriac we can perceive

[1] vi. 23. 4; 33. 4; 36. 4. [2] See vi. 32. 3 and note.
[3] vii. 32. 25. But see viii. 13. 6 and note. [4] *M.P.* 11. 3 (S).
[5] vii. 28. 1: "*This* neighbouring church of Cæsarea."
[6] viii. 13. 7.
[7] *M.P.* (S) 12 *ad fin.*; 13. 11, 14 (originally followed by the "recantation"). Cp. viii. 16. 1.
[8] *M.P.* (L) 13. 9, 11. [9] See p. 2, note 5.
[10] *D.C.B.* ii. 320. For Schwartz's argument on the other side see *Euseb.* p. 282 f. [11] *M.P.* (L) Pref. 8.

that he uses the very phrases of the earlier passage. In S there is no parallel. It is natural that the treatise which was prior in time should recall the promise and in unstudied fashion should reflect its language. Again, there are two persons mentioned in S, of whom no notice is taken in L. The first is the Tyrian martyr Ulpian.[1] The notice of this worthy is an obvious insertion awkwardly introduced between the martyrdoms of Apphianus and his brother Ædesius. Ulpian was not in any sense a Palestinian martyr, and Eusebius actually apologizes for giving him a place in the book. Here certainly S is later than L. The second is an Egyptian named John for whom Eusebius had much respect.[2] Some reminiscences of him are thrust into the midst of the account of Silvanus of Gaza, to the detriment of the perspicuity of the narrative. John was "with" Silvanus, no doubt, at Phæno; but it is not clear that he was his companion in martyrdom, and the impression is left that Eusebius came to know him at a later time in Egypt. At any rate a comparison here between S and L points to the priority of the latter.

Assuming then that S is an abridgement of L, it is instructive to note how closely it is connected with Book viii. Besides the sections concerned with Ulpian and John there are four important passages of S which are not represented in L; and each of them has a parallel in Book viii. *M.P.* (S) Pref.; 1. 3–5a are copied, with some changes, from viii. 2. 4, 5; 3. *M.P.* (S) 13. 11–13 has reminiscences of viii. 6. 10; 13. 11, while § 14 is copied from viii. 16. 1, and the copy of the recantation, which once followed it, corresponded with viii. 17. 3–10. Finally, *M.P.* (S) 12 is a free expansion of viii. 2. 1–3. When we recall Eusebius's habit of linking together consecutive books by repeating the close of one as the beginning of the next,[3] this peculiarity of S suggests that he intended it to be a supplement to Book viii.

Confirmation of this view is not wanting. In *M.P.* (S) 12 Eusebius tells us that he omits to relate certain unedifying events of the persecution, "as indeed I stated also at the beginning." But no such statement was made elsewhere in *M.P.* Doubtless he is referring to the parallel passage in viii. 2. 2, 3. Book viii and *M.P.* (S) are regarded as one. Further, the exemplar of the four primary MSS. of S had a superscription to the effect that the scribe had found the treatise "in a certain copy in (*i.e.* after)[4] the eighth book." We may infer that the only manuscript of the *Martyrs* which the scribe of the exemplar knew placed it immediately after Book viii. Now that was a most unlikely position to be

[1] *M.P.* (S) 5. 1.
[2] *M.P.* (S) 13. 6–8, and note.
[3] See iii. 1. 1, note.
[4] Cp. p. 9 below: "*in* the eighth book *as an appendix*."

assigned to it by a scribe after the ninth book was added, and in fact in two of the four manuscripts, in spite of the superscription, it follows Book x. The most natural explanation is that Eusebius himself placed it after Book viii in some manuscripts of the first edition of the work. It was regarded by him as an integral part of the *History*.

This supposition enables us to find a way out of a serious difficulty. In *M.P.* (L) 7. 8 Eusebius intimates his intention of writing an account of the "wicked men" who persecuted the Church. He evidently means such provincial governors as Firmilian. But in the parallel passage of S he defines his subject as the fates of "Maximin himself and his accomplices." If the text in both passages is original it is obvious that L was published before Maximin's death, and S after it. But so late a date for S is impossible. We conclude that the words, "that is to say, Maximin himself and his accomplices," were inserted when Book ix was added. Such an interpolation is in line with some of the alterations made in Book viii on the same occasion. Compare *M.P.* (S) 11. 31, note.

The only remaining document in our group of writings is that which is known as the Appendix to Book viii.[1] It is found in three of the manuscripts of *M.P.* (S). In one it is said to have been found "in certain copies in the eighth book as an appendix." Another asserts that it was found in the same place, but denies that it was an appendix. In the third there is no superscription. It seems to have been written by Eusebius; but it has the appearance of being a scrap of a separate treatise. That it is really a continuation of Book viii is improbable.[2] It may well be a fragment of the projected work mentioned above (*M.P.* 7. 8). If so, it is later than 313.

To sum up. Eusebius probably began to write his *Ecclesiastical History* in 305. He had reached the end of Book v in November 308. Between that month and the end of February 310 he was engaged in collaboration with Pamphilus on the first five books of the *Apology for Origen*, and after February 310 he wrote its sixth book, and subsequently the sixth book of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Perhaps before, but more probably after, that book he composed the *Life of Pamphilus*. It was possibly written *pari passu* with Book vii (possibly even with vi. 40–46). But all these writings were possibly finished in May 311, or very shortly afterwards. Then was published the "recantation" of Galerius, and Eusebius, now in Egypt,[3] perceived that the moment had come when the

[1] Vol. i. p. 401.

[2] See Append. 1, note on "such a confession."

[3] The only document from which Eusebius quotes *verbatim* in Book viii, with the exception of the Edict of Toleration, is the letter of

History might fitly be brought to an auspicious end. Accordingly in or after May he wrote Book viii, and published the first edition of the *History*. He then fulfilled his promise to relate the story of the Martyrdoms of his own province in the Longer Recension of the *Martyrs of Palestine*. Finally he abridged that treatise, and placed the Shorter Recension at the end of such copies of the first edition of the *History* as were subsequently transcribed, as a supplement to Book viii. The whole of this work was completed by the end of 311. Two years later he revised the text of Books i–viii and the *Martyrs* (S), and added Book ix. This second edition was followed in 325 by a third, in which the text was again revised and Book x was added.

Some may find difficulty in believing that any man could have accomplished so great an amount of literary work in so short a period as we have supposed. Can we imagine that Eusebius wrote the sixth book of the *Apology for Origen*, Books vi–viii of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and the three books of the *Life of Pamphilus* between March 310 and say July 311—seven books in seventeen months? Or that he published the two recensions of the *Martyrs of Palestine* in the next three or four months? It is indeed surprising. But the speed with which he wrote was extraordinary.[1] It is certain that five books of the *Apology* were composed, in fifteen months, under all the difficulties of prison life. Is it then impossible that seven books should have been penned in the following seventeen months, and two in the next four?

Certain facts must be taken into account. The material for *Apol.* vi. was probably collected before the death of Pamphilus. *H.E.* vi. 1–39 was no doubt largely an abridgement of the *Apology*. *H.E.* vi. 40–46 and vii consist largely of long extracts from a few rolls of letters of Dionysius of Alexandria and the Acts of the Council which condemned Paul of Samosata: they may have been copied, not by Eusebius himself, but by those who assisted him in his work. *H.E.* viii is a short book, which bears on its face marks of haste.[2] *M.P.* (L) is a lengthy tract; but chapter 11, constituting about a quarter of it, was probably copied, or abridged, from the *Life of Pamphilus*. *M.P.* (S) is short, and is for the most part an abridgement of *M.P.* (L) with considerable extracts from *H.E.* viii. All these books could have been written quickly. Moreover the whole period from the death of Pamphilus to the beginning of Maximin's final persecution was for Eusebius a time of comparative peace.

Phileas (above, p. 2). This is natural if he was away from his ordinary sources of information and in Egypt.

[1] He wrote four treatises in less than four years when he was over 75 years of age: *D.C.B.* ii. 319a.

[2] viii. Pref., note.

There was no martyrdom at Cæsarea after 7 March, 310;[1] and throughout Palestine and Egypt and the whole East from May to November 311 or later there was no severe persecution.[2]

II. *The Method of the Work.*

All who have studied the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius will confess that it is not an easy book to read. Lightfoot tells us that in it "he is very desultory in his treatment." And he proceeds to justify this statement: "We have not unfrequently," he says, "to pick out from various parts of his work the notices bearing on one definite and limited subject. He relates a fact, or quotes an authority bearing upon it, in season or out of season, according as it is recalled to his memory by some accidental connexion."[3] That observation is, on the whole, just; but is it quite fair to set down such imperfections of style to mere desultoriness? In order to answer the question it is necessary to understand Eusebius's deliberate method as an historian.

He begins with a list of the subjects which are to be dealt with. They are these: 1. The successions from the Apostles (*i.e.* the successions of bishops in the principal sees); 2. Important events in the history of the Church; 3. Leading men; 4. Heretics; 5. The calamities of the Jews; 6. Persecutions. These matters duly recorded, he will further write of (*a*) the martyrdoms of his own time, and (*b*) the divine succour which brought the persecutions to an end.[4] The last two heads, as we have seen, were originally intended to indicate the subject of Book viii. Accordingly the scheme of that book is simple. It describes (1) a time of peace (1. 1–6); (2) the causes of the persecution (1. 7–2. 1); (3) the persecution (2. 4–13. 8); (4) the state of the Empire during the persecution (13. 9–15. 2); (5) the divine succour (16; 17). The added books follow a similar scheme. Book ix tells of (1) a period of peace (c. 1); (2) persecution (2–7. 15); (3) its results in Maximin's dominion (7. 16–8. 14); (4) the divine succour (8. 15–11. 9). Book x records (1) a period of peace (cc. 1–7); (2) persecution (8. 1–18); (3) divine succour (8. 19–9. 9). However unsatisfactory these books may be in other respects, there is little in them of desultoriness. The same may be said of the *Martyrs of Palestine*. That tract is for the most part a straightforward story of martyrdoms, recounted in chronological order.

The first book of the *History* stands almost apart from the plan outlined in its first chapter. Eusebius regards it as an

[1] *M.P.* 11. 30.
[2] *M.P.* 13. 5 (S), 9 (L); ix. 2.
[3] *D.C.B.* ii. 326.
[4] i. 1., 1, 2.

introduction.[1] In fact the first half of the book (cc. 1–4) is a theological disquisition. The following chapters (5–11) give a very scanty summary of the Gospel story. How scanty it is will be manifest when we note that the only references to the Crucifixion and the Resurrection are incidental.[2] The purpose of Eusebius here is obviously rather polemical than historical. His aim is to confirm the accuracy of the evangelical narrative, apparently by way of rejoinder to the forged Memoirs of Pilate and our Saviour which had been recently put into circulation,[3] and to show that Christ was the fulfilment of prophecy.[4] It is only in the last two chapters that we come into the stream of ecclesiastical history. Nevertheless, from the fifth chapter onwards the book is cast into the form of history. Thus from Book i, chapter 5, to the end of Book vii may be regarded as the kernel of the work. In it Eusebius had to deal with six more or less distinct subjects. On what plan were they to be treated?

Now before he began to write his History of the Church Eusebius had finished his *Chronica*.[5] The new work had a narrower scope than its predecessor; but so far as it went it was to be fuller. It was to be an expansion of the epitome of Christian history contained in the *Chronicle*. The writer of the earliest Ecclesiastical History[6] entered upon his task with the training of an annalist. And so we might expect that he would use the method of an annalist, with some modification. This is in fact what Eusebius did.

The business of an annalist is to set down under each year the series of events, however heterogeneous, which belong to it. The events must of necessity be presented in isolation; their nexus with the events of other years can seldom be brought out. The annalist's unit of time is a year. When Eusebius came to write history he abandoned that chronological unit. But he substituted for it other units—periods of several years; and he still followed the annalistic method of recording occurrences under the periods in which they took place.

In the first place he divided the history of the Church up to the persecution of Diocletian into stages corresponding to seven books. Book i ended with the Ascension of our Lord;[7] Book ii with the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul;[8] Book iii with the first succession from the apostles (*c.* 110 A.D.);[9] Book iv with the death of Pope Soter, on the eve of the persecution at Lyons (178);[10] Book v immediately before the persecution of Septimius Severus;[11] Book vi with the Decian

[1] ii. Pref. 1.
[2] i. 10. 6; 12. 4.
[3] i. 9. 2–4; 11. 9.
[4] i. 6–8. 2.
[5] i. 1. 6.
[6] i. 1. 3, note.
[7] ii. Pref. 2.
[8] ii. 25. 5–8; iii. 1. 3.
[9] iii. 34; 36. 1; 37. 1; iv. 1.
[10] iv. 30. 3; v. Pref. 1.
[11] v. 28. 7; vi. 1.

persecution and its sequel, the Novatianist schism; Book vii immediately before the persecution of his own time (303).[1]

Another series of periods is determined by the reigns of successive emperors. This, as Lightfoot remarks, is "the backbone of the chronology in the *History*." [2] The term of office of an emperor, or of two [3] or more [4] emperors, is regarded as a time-unit.

But there is a lower and scarcely less important unit—the period of the episcopate of an eminent bishop, usually a bishop of Rome. Here we come upon one of Eusebius's topics—"the successions." [5] The successions of the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and other sees are given because of their importance; but it is implied that in the greater number of instances they have also a chronological significance.[6] To the reader they may seem to be planted down anywhere at haphazard, often interrupting the flow of the narrative. But it is not so. The groups of successions are placed in chronological order under the reigns to which they belong. Usually a group is plainly intended to indicate a period, the events of which immediately follow. Often the beginning of the period is accurately fixed by a year-date, which is, as a rule, the date of the accession of one of the bishops of Rome. Thus in iv. 19; 20 we have a group of contemporary bishops of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. The Roman bishop is Soter, whose accession is dated, 169. The period indicated is his term of office, which ends with the close of Book iv. The next period begins with the accession of Eleutherus, dated 178, and ends with the death of Marcus Aurelius (v. 1–8). Next we have the period of the episcopate of Julian, bishop of Alexandria (181–190); [7] and so on.

Thus, from Book i, c. 5 to the end of Book vii the history is divided into periods, the close of each period being marked by the close of a book, or the death of an emperor or an eminent bishop. In each of these periods Eusebius, the annalist, proposes to deal with all the topics enumerated in i. 1. 1, 2. Further, he has to find room for another characteristic of his work—the enumeration of the writings (with extracts) of persons mentioned in the course of his narrative. His general plan is to call attention to the writings of an author at the point at which he is named for the last time. But in the case of more prolific writers several lists are given, each list containing the treatises composed in a definite period. In conjunction with these lists the historian fulfils his undertaking to note references to the biblical books,

[1] vii. 32. 32. [2] Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 165. [3] vi. 21. 1; vii. 28. 4.
[4] vii. 30. 22. [5] i. 1. 1; vii. 32. 32.
[6] i. 1. 1, "the successions . . . together with the times."
[7] v. 9; 22.

acknowledged and disputed.[1] It sometimes happens that events cannot be placed in any one of the shorter periods. In such cases it is intimated that all that can be said is that they belong to a less closely defined period. Thus in iv. 30, after a review of the middle period of Marcus Aurelius (169–177) we are told that Bardesanes flourished "in the same reign," *i.e.* between 161 and 180. And similarly in v. 21, at the close of the account of the first ten years of the succeeding emperor (180-190) it is stated that the martyrdom of Apollonius took place "at the same time, that is, during the reign of Commodus" (180–192).

Such is Eusebius's design. And on the whole he faithfully adheres to it. To that fact, in the main, and not to desultory writing, is due the scrappiness of his *History*. Take, for example, iv. 22. 4–6. This passage is a quotation from Hegesippus, relating to the appointment of Symeon to the bishopric of Jerusalem and the rise of heresy. These events have been touched upon in iii. 11; 32. 6–8. In order to discover all that Eusebius tells us about them we must put the two earlier passages beside the later. But this is not an example of "relating a fact or quoting an authority as it is recalled to his memory by some accidental connexion." The first two notices are in their proper periods in the reigns of Vespasian and Trajan; and Eusebius no doubt deemed the summaries there given sufficient for the purpose of his narrative. The final quotation appears immediately after the last mention of Hegesippus, the point at which, according to the plan of the *History*, extracts from his *Memoirs* should be given; and the interest of this particular extract is not so much historical events as the list of heresies which it contains.

Again, the *Ecclesiastical History* would have been less tedious if it had included continuous narratives of the lives of the leaders of the Church, such as Polycarp or Justin Martyr or Irenæus. But this was not Eusebius' way. Such facts as he recounts about Justin, for example, are fragmentary, and they must be sought in no less than three different passages: iv. 8. 3–5; iv. 11. 8-11; 12 and iv. 16–18. The reason of this curious treatment is plain. The historian is following his plan. The first passage has to do with the earlier life of Justin under Hadrian, the second with his prime under Antoninus Pius, when he wrote against Marcion and presented his first Apology; and the third with his martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius. Each series of events is set down in its proper period. Continuity was made impossible by the scheme of the work.

Desultory, indeed, Eusebius at times certainly is. Perhaps the most curious example in the *History* of that failing is to be found in Book vii. In chapter 17 he has spoken of the

[1] iii. 3. 3.

doings of Astyrius at Cæsarea Philippi. The bare mention of the name of that place leads him to discourse on the image of Christ there preserved (c. 18); and, that image being a monument, he must needs proceed (c. 19) to call attention to the chair of James the Just at Jerusalem, which was also a monument. But the result of this double digression is neither a repetition nor a dislocation of his plan, but a passage which has no legitimate place in his work.

Similarly, the mention of the *Shepherd* of Hermas in iii. 3. 6 is awkwardly intruded in an account of the writings of St. Peter and St. Paul, evidently because its supposed author happens to be named in Rom. xvi. 14. But it is possible that Eusebius supposed that it was written in the later years of Nero. If so, he has given it a place in accordance with his scheme.

But there are instances in which desultoriness produces indefensible repetition. Under the Emperor Claudius we have the incident of Theudas (ii. 11), and a little later the Passover trouble at Jerusalem (ii. 19); which, as being calamities of the Jews, should have been treated together. But the Theudas episode is so minor an incident as to be unworthy of inclusion in a summary story of the Jewish tragedy. Probably Eusebius inserted it merely because, having in the previous chapter corroborated the statement of *Acts* about the death of Herod Agrippa from Josephus, he thought it well to show that Josephus and St. Luke are in agreement in another detail. If so, his treatment is desultory. And one lapse leads to another. For in ii. 12 he refers to Queen Helena's munificence during the famine in Jerusalem, which is related a few lines lower down in Josephus. But the famine had been dealt with in c. 8, and here he partly repeats what he had said there. His eye caught the reference which he could not recall when he was writing that passage.[1] Instead of re-writing c. 8 he adds a supplementary note on the same occurrence. Once more he is desultory. In like manner we find in iii. 4. 1, 2 a careless repetition of iii. 1. 1, 2. An earlier instance of double treatment of a single topic may be mentioned. Under the reign of Tiberius Eusebius records the call of the seventy disciples (i. 10. 7), and after a chapter on other matters he writes on their names (i. 12). But this duplication is deliberate. The discussion of the names is deferred to serve as an introduction to the mission of Thaddæus (c. 13), who was one of the Seventy.[2] Duplicate accounts of the same matter, however, within the limits of a chronological period are rare.

[1] ii. 8. 1: "A fact which even those writers who are strangers to our teaching have recorded in their histories." The famine is also mentioned under Tiberius (ii. 3. 4).

[2] i. 12. 3.

Eusebius appears to have been conscious of the awkwardness of the plan of his work, and to have attempted at times to lessen its inconvenience. To take an example. It has been stated that the goal of the first book is the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul in 68 or 69.[1] It is, in fact, the latest event recorded in it. But it is not the last. The book concludes with the Jewish troubles under Florus in 66. This is not an artistic ending, and it inverts the chronological sequence. But the misplacement enables the historian to link together the martyrdom of James the Just with that of the two apostles, though they belong to different periods in the reign of Nero.[2] He diminishes the effect of the anti-climax by inserting at the beginning of Book iii, by way of preface, a quotation from Origen which leads us once more to the martyrdom of the companion apostles.

But now and then Eusebius abandons his plan. This is sometimes due to carelessness or desultory writing. Thus in ii. 5. 7; 6. 3–7, under the emperor Gaius, he gives an account of disturbances at Jerusalem in the time of Pilate, and therefore in the reign of Tiberius. Again, in iii. 24, where he discusses St. John's writings, he interpolates passages relating to the other evangelists, and to an earlier period (§§ 2–6, 14–16). The principal subject dealt with under the reign of Gallus is the controversy on heretical baptism, covering the episcopates of Popes Stephen and Xystus (vii. 2–9). The treatment is very slight. Apparently Eusebius's only source of information is a series of letters of Dionysius of Alexandria, from which he gives us nine extracts. Four of them are irrelevant. Two deal with Novatianism (c. 4; 5. 1, 2 and c. 8), and would have had their proper place in the previous period (vi. 43 ff.). Another has to do with Sabellianism (c. 6), and a fourth is an autobiographical passage (7. 1–3) which has no bearing on the matter in hand. The scheme of the last chapter of Book vii is topographical as well as chronological. The successions of the principal sees are given separately, and with them notes of prominent men who flourished in each episcopate. Thus under Agapius, bishop of Cæsarea, we are introduced to Pamphilus (§ 25). But after him (§ 26) mention is made of Pierius, "one of the presbyters at Alexandria." The notice of this worthy should have appeared under bishop Theonas in § 30, where indeed there is an incidental reference to him. Possibly Eusebius was led to place him where he does because Pamphilus was his most famous pupil.[3]

[1] The date is fixed by iii. 2; 13.

[2] The division is indicated in c. 24. Elsewhere he preserves continuity by dealing at the beginning of a period with the subject which was the last in the immediately preceding period. See ii. 19; 20; 21 (Calamities of Jews); iv. 14; 15 (Polycarp).

[3] *M.P.* 11. 1, note.

There is another class of passages, however, in which Eusebius departs, or seems to depart, from his plan. One passage of this class is the last six chapters of Book iii. In c. 34 he indicates that he is entering upon the period following the death of Clement of Rome (101). In 36. 1, 2 he names three men of eminence who flourished in that period—Polycarp, Papias and Ignatius. He then gives a full account of Ignatius with some reference to Polycarp (36. 3–15). Next, a couple of sentences are devoted to the prophet Quadratus (37. 1). But then, when we are prepared to read what he has to tell us about Papias, he suddenly begins to make some general remarks about many other unnamed pastors and evangelists, leading up to Ignatius *and Clement*, who flourished in a previous period (c. 37). The mention of the latter name is the starting point of a disquisition on the writings of Clement of Rome (c. 38). Finally we have a long chapter on Papias (c. 39). Has the desultory historian gone off at a tangent in cc. 37, 38, and told us some things about Clement which he had forgotten to mention in their proper place? We can hardly say so; for the anonymous evangelists are distinctly stated to have worked in the period with which he is concerned,[1] and somewhere in this division of the *History* is the place for a reference to the writings of Clement, whose death is recorded at its beginning.[2] But cc. 37, 38 are nevertheless an awkward intrusion. Why were they inserted just here? Perhaps through mere carelessness. But another explanation may be suggested. Eusebius could hardly have regarded Papias as worthy to be set beside men whom he revered so highly as Ignatius and Polycarp. This writer could not be ignored; but he was a person "of exceedingly small intelligence,"[3] and he could scarcely be described as having set forth a true "presentation of the apostolic teaching."[4] Eusebius may then have placed cc. 37, 38 where they stand, in order to remove him by a considerable interval from the really great men of the time.

It has been said above that Book i was intended to bring us as far as the Ascension of our Lord. But the whole narrative of Thaddæus's mission at Edessa (i. 13. 11–22), with which the book actually closes, belongs to the post-Ascension period. Its appropriate place would therefore have been in Book ii, and there, in fact, it is summarized with some additions.[5] But Eusebius' readers will not regret that the fuller account of the foundation of the Edessene church was not divorced from the correspondence of Christ and Abgar, from which, according to the legend, it had its beginning. So happy a violation of the rules with which the historian enthralled himself can

[1] iii. 37. 1, 4. [2] iii. 34. [3] iii. 39. 13.
[4] iii. 37. 4; cp. 39. 12. [5] ii. 1. 6, 7.

hardly have been, as is sometimes assumed, a result of desultory method; we prefer to think that it was deliberate.

In Book iii, again, we find several successive chapters (cc. 25–31) in which the arrangement of the material is not in agreement with the general structure of the work. Eusebius is dealing with the reign of Trajan. But after a discussion of the writings of St. John, to which reference has been made already, he plunges (c. 25) into his famous classification of the books of the New Testament. This is succeeded by notices of various heresies which have nothing to do with the time of Trajan (cc. 26–29),[1] and chapters on the apostles Peter, Philip and John (cc. 30, 31). This whole section Eusebius himself describes as belonging to the age of the apostles.[2] The chapter on the New Testament books, taken by itself, might be explained as a mere piece of desultory writing suggested by the account of St. John's treatises.[3] But it is a necessary supplement to a previous passage in which he speaks of the disputed and acknowledged writings.[4] He was bound to state somewhere what he meant by these terms. And wherever the explanation was given it would interrupt the narrative. Moreover this plea of desultoriness does not account for the remainder of the section. A sufficient excuse for this long digression is the hypothesis—probable in itself—that Eusebius deemed the topics here discussed essential to his *History*, but that he was unable to decide in what period or periods they should fitly be placed. He was in fact forced in this instance, owing to lack of precise chronological data, to depart from his plan.

The same may be said of a very important section of Book v in which Eusebius disregards his ordinary method. He is giving an account of the earlier years of Commodus, the period during which Julian was bishop of Alexandria, Eleutherus of Rome, and Narcissus of Jerusalem[5]—*i.e.* 180–190. In c. 13 he has a notice of a prominent Asian named Rhodo, an extract from one of whose writings brings before us the Marcionite heretic Apelles. This leads him to mention three heresies of the same period, the Montanists and the followers of Florinus and Blastus (cc. 14, 15). The notice of the Montanists is lengthy, occupying cc. 16–19. But it is by no means confined to the short period from 180 to 190, nor even to the reign of Commodus. It goes back to the very beginning of the prophesying of Montanus,[6] which must be dated at least as early

[1] *E.g.* Menander may have flourished shortly after St. Peter's conflict with Simon Magus (iii. 26. 1), and therefore as early as Claudius (ii. 14. 6; 15. 1). The Nicolaitans were certainly in existence under Domitian (iii. 29. 1).

[2] iii. 31. 6.

[3] So Westcott (*Two Empires*, p. 14), followed by Lightfoot (*D.C.B.* ii. 326).

[4] iii. 3. 3. See above, p. 13.

[5] v. 9; 12; 22.

[6] v. 16. 7.

as the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[1] And one of the authorities referred to is Apollinarius,[2] who wrote when the "heresy of the Phrygians was beginning to shoot forth" and Montanus "was taking the first steps in his error."[3] No doubt Eusebius was here impelled to overstep the limits of the period of which he was treating by the impossibility of dating the events which he found in his sources. It is, at any rate, much to our advantage that he took that course.

The result of the foregoing investigation may be summarized thus. Fresh from his annalistic labours, Eusebius laid down a scheme for his *Ecclesiastical History* on unfortunate lines. Its main fault was that it made continuity of treatment impossible. In spite of that fact, of which he was to some extent conscious, he adhered to it with remarkable fidelity. Now and again, however, compelled by the untractableness of his material, or by reason of his sense of fitness, he abandoned it, usually to the advantage of his readers. A desultory habit has in some instances marred his work. But it seems that his desultoriness has by some critics been exaggerated.

III. *The Quotations.*

It has perhaps been made sufficiently clear that the plan of the work is one of the causes of the difficulty which it presents to the reader. But there is another. The scores of quotations from ancient books and letters which are interspersed throughout its pages render a flowing narrative impossible. Nevertheless these quotations are the most important element in the *Ecclesiastical History*. And Eusebius knew it. They are the voices from the past which guided him on his way;[4] and because they are so plentiful they furnish to modern historians of the Church much of the foundation on which their investigations rest. They are obviously far more important than the conclusions which Eusebius drew from them.

In the *History* we find nearly 250 passages transcribed from early sources. Almost half of them—including the greater number of the more lengthy—are otherwise unknown to us; more than half, if we include passages of Irenæus extant elsewhere only in the Latin or Armenian version. In addition to these there are 90 or 100 indirect quotations or summaries, of about a third of which the original text is lost.

Our study of the quotations may begin with the latter class. The longest which it includes is the "abridgement" of the first seven sections of the extant *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (iv. 15.

[1] v. 3. 4. [2] v. 19. 2–4; see notes on that passage.
[3] iv. 27. [4] i. 1. 3.

4–14). It is fairly clear that the text lay before Eusebius as he wrote. He follows the order of the original document, and its phrases appear in almost every line. Nevertheless it is practically rewritten. He omits, expands and glosses at will; but only in one instance can he be accused of misstating the facts.[1] This passage stands by itself. All the other indirect quotations which we can compare with the original texts are much shorter. The question therefore arises whether in all of them he wrote with his eye on the text. It is true that with few exceptions [2] he reproduces its phrases; [3] and he usually gives with accuracy, though not always fully, the substance of the passage which he paraphrases. But it is necessary to point out that he not seldom blunders, sometimes seriously, in thus presenting the statements of his authorities. For example, he wrongly represents Josephus as saying that Herod the Great shut up the high-priestly vesture under his private seal (i. 6. 10). He makes the same writer responsible for the statements that Lysanias held his tetrarchy immediately after the fall of Archelaus (i. 9. 1), that Herod Antipas "on account of Herodias" beheaded the Baptist (i. 11. 1), who excelled all in righteousness (i. 11. 3), and that he was banished to Vienne (i. 11. 3). Again citing Josephus, he greatly exaggerates the death-roll in a riot under the procurator Cumanus (ii. 19. 1). Hegesippus gave a date for the emergence of heresy in "the church," meaning, as a glance at the context shows, the church of Jerusalem; Eusebius, quoting the passage, takes it to mean the Church universal (iii. 32. 7).[4] And he transforms the request of Ignatius, that Polycarp should send delegates to Antioch, into a commission to him to take charge of the flock at that place (iii. 36. 10). In none of these passages can we believe that he was paraphrasing a text recently read. The impression which they make will be enhanced when attention is called to a similar series of mistakes in quotations which are reserved for discussion further on.[5] The reasonable conclusion seems to be that when Eusebius made indirect quotations he trusted overmuch to a remarkably retentive memory, which on occasion played him tricks.

We may now turn to his direct quotations—passages in which he professes to give the *ipsissima verba* of his authorities. It must be at once admitted that in many instances he presents them to his readers in an unsatisfactory form.

Not seldom his textual quotations begin or end in the middle of a sentence. Such curtailment is unobjectionable if the result is a passage which can stand by itself, while the sup-

[1] iv. 15. 10, note.
[2] *E.g.*, i. 8. 15; ii. 5. 7; iii. 36. 10; iv. 11. 7; 14. 1; 18. 6; v. 17. 1.
[3] See especially i. 6. 2, 3, 9; ii. 20. 4–6; iii. 7. 2; 10. 7.
[4] See notes on iii. 32. 7, 8.
[5] Pp. 26, 27.

pressed clauses are irrelevant to his purpose.[1] But this cannot be said of most of Eusebius's truncated extracts. Thus in ii. 17. 11 we have a quotation from Philo's *D.V.C.* ending with an unfinished sentence, followed after an interval by another which is merely the end of a sentence (§ 13). Actually the second is consecutive with the first. But no clear intimation is given of that fact: in consequence both are more or less unintelligible. Again, we find in several extracts a relative pronoun without the antecedent which is necessary to make the sense clear (iii. 1. 1; iv. 8. 2; v. 2. 2; 24. 14). Mutilation also occasionally deprives a sentence of its principal verb (iv. 11. 9; v. 17. 2; vi. 25. 4, 14; vii. 25. 9), or leaves us, not a sentence, but an unintelligible series of words (iii. 23. 3; 28. 4; iv. 8. 2 *ad fin.*). Some other similar instances of mutilation may be noted. In i. 10. 2–4 Eusebius says that Christ's ministry lasted from the high-priesthood of Annas to that of Caiaphas. This is based on a passage of Josephus, which is quoted with mutilation at the beginning. But the suppressed clause disproves the hypothesis.[2] The conclusions of the sentences of Philo in ii. 17. 17, 19 are necessary to complete the sense. The passage of Irenæus, quoted in iv. 11. 2, in which Marcion is represented as "blaspheming," is denuded of the final clause, indicating the exact nature of the blasphemy. Again, when Justin is cited as declaring that Crescens did not honour "that admirable saying of Socrates" (iv. 16. 6), the aphorism (contained in the last eight words of the sentence) is omitted; and thus the remark of Justin is left pointless. In iv. 29. 2, 3 a passage of Irenæus, referring to Tatian, is given; but its meaning is obscured by the omission of the preceding context. Another sentence of Irenæus is docked both of its beginning and its end (v. 7. 2), with disastrous result. It begins with the words, "But so far are they from raising the dead": all the rest (beginning, "as the Lord") is parenthesis. Thus we have a protasis without apodosis; and we are left without information as to who "they" were who could not raise the dead. The parenthesis is indeed the important part of the quotation for Eusebius. But the whole passage is relevant to his argument. If only a portion was to be given, it might have commenced with the words "The Lord raised [the dead]": in which case it would have been at least intelligible. We have a very similar example of carelessness in an extract from the letter of Pope Cornelius to Fabius (vi. 43. 17). It also is quoted for the sake of a parenthesis; but the main sentence is unfinished. Two scraps of Irenæus appear in v. 8. 5, 6; the first is a protasis

[1] As in ii. 12. 1; 13. 4; 17. 20; iii. 9. 1; 23. 6; 26. 3; iv. 11. 5; 18. 9; 26. 3; v. 6. 3; 8. 10; vi. 14. 10.

[2] See i. 10. 2–6, note.

without apodosis, the second an apodosis without protasis. Neither of them is completely intelligible. In the previous chapter (v. 7. 6) we are given part of a sentence of the same writer, beginning "even as we also," which carries us back to a quotation of 1 Cor. ii. 6 in the omitted context. The words are meaningless as they stand, and might with advantage have been disregarded. Finally, in vii. 24. 9 we find a broken sentence, the mutilation of which hides from us a seemingly not unimportant historical fact.[1]

Eusebius is not content with abbreviating his quotations by omissions at the beginning or end. Now and again he leaves out elsewhere a portion of the text without giving notice to his readers that he has done so. Some of these omissions are unimportant, and sometimes perhaps accidental.[2] But others are significant and, in most cases, deliberate. That the discourse of Thaddæus at Edessa is passed over (i. 13. 21)[3] cannot be due to accident. The omission of two sentences in Josephus's story of the murder of James the Just—whether by accident or design—is unfortunate (ii. 23. 21, note); and a similar lacuna in the same writer's account of the opening of the eastern gate of the temple (iii. 8. 4) leaves the reader unaware of the contradictory meanings attached to that portent by the Jews. In iii. 9. 1 a passage is quoted to show what were the "origin and race" of Josephus; but the words "by race a Hebrew" are omitted. It seems that there is a serious omission in Eusebius' extract from the preface to the *Expositions* of Papias (iii. 39. 4: see note). In one of the Marcosian formulas of initiation (taken from Irenæus) some words are unjustifiably passed over (iv. 11. 5, note). In iv. 22 three extracts from the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus appear. It is evident that in the first a passage of historical interest has been omitted, and in the second two or more, which we can to some extent supply from other parts of the *History*.[4] For some reason Eusebius omits some interesting words from Clement of Alexandria's list of his teachers (v. 11. 4). There seems also to be an omission of some length in Dionysius of Alexandria's account of the origin of the persecution of Valerian (vii. 10. 7). Lastly, there can be no doubt that the names and titles of Maximin Daza (possibly also those of Licinius) in the last edition of the *History* have been deleted in the Toleration Edict of Galerius (viii. 17. 3–5).

[1] The text of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* breaks off in the middle of a sentence (iv. 15. 45). But this mutilation is probably not the fault of Eusebius. See note on the passage.

[2] i. 10. 4; iii. 8. 4, first omission; iv. 8. 7; vii. 11. 6 (see note). The omissions in i. 10. 4 may be deliberate; for the same passage is quoted in *Dem. Ev.* viii. 2. 100 with similar lacunæ. But it may have been transcribed from a book of extracts.

[3] i. 13. 20, note.

[4] See notes on iv. 22. 2, 4–6.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have noted rather more than 50 separate extracts which have been mutilated.[1] In about 35 of them the mutilation obscures the sense. In many instances the mutilation and its effect were detected by comparison with the text from which the quotation was taken. About twenty were discovered in passages not known apart from Eusebius's quotations; but in some of these we were able to place the direct quotation side by side with a paraphrase by Eusebius himself. It is reasonable to suppose that many mutilations, still undetected, lurk in the more numerous extracts which we know only from transcripts in the *History*. This conclusion detracts somewhat seriously from the value of Eusebius's quotations from early writers.

Let us now consider some extracts which begin with a complete sentence. It may be well to examine in the first place quotations of that class which are taken from the writings of Josephus. Eusebius culls more passages from him than from any other writer whose works are in our hands. It will be found that out of a score seven are unsatisfactory, because no reference is made to the contexts. They are the following:

The short notice of Judas of Galilee from *B.J.* ii. 8. 1 (i. 5. 6) begins, "In *his* day." The previous sentence speaks of the procurator Coponius, whom Eusebius does not mention. In i. 8. 14 (= *B.J.* i. 33. 7) we have an account of Herod's attempt to commit suicide, beginning, "And again . . . when the pains mastered him," etc. These words are pointless, standing apart from the previous context, which tells how after a period of melancholy he was roused to a fresh desire to live. The long passage, quoted in iii. 6. 1–10 (*B.J.* v. 10. 2, 3), on the miseries of the people in Jerusalem during the siege, begins, "But as for the wealthy, to remain [in the city] meant equally certain destruction." This sentence has no meaning, when severed from the previous passage of Josephus which speaks of the fate of deserters. Moreover it conveys the false impression that the whole passage refers to the wealthy, whereas Josephus states in the later context that its subject is the sufferings of the lower classes. Following this extract is another (iii. 6. 11–16 = *B.J.* v. 12. 3), beginning, "So, with the closing of the ways out of the city"—a clause wholly inexplicable without reference to the context, which records that Titus had built a wall round the city. In iii. 8. 1–9 (= *B.J.* vi. 5. 3) an account of certain portents is introduced by the words, "*Thus* were the wretched people prevailed upon . . . by *these deceivers*." Josephus had explained that they were carried away by the oracles of certain prophets.

[1] Mutilated quotations from the Bible have not been included. For them see i. 2. 3, 14, 15, 25; 3. 13; iii. 7. 4, 5; 39. 10; x. 4. 9, 32, 49–51.

The passage ends in the middle of the story of Jesus the son of Ananias, thus leaving the false impression that his proclamation of woes belonged to the fourth year before the war (§ 7). In the following context Josephus says that it continued for over seven years, till he was killed in the siege. When Eusebius (iii. 10. 1) quotes Josephus' accounts of the Old Testament books, beginning, "We have not *therefore* multitudes of books" (*Ap.* i. 8), he fails to remind us of the meaning of "therefore," which is explained in the previous context. And in like manner when he quotes Josephus's taunt that Justus of Tiberias was afraid for his writings (iii. 10. 9 = *Vita* 65), he does not refer to the foregoing sentences which indicate its significance.

Apart from these seven passages from Josephus, we have noted only three quotations from works that are in our hands which are marred by neglect of the context. One is from Irenæus beginning, "But since these things are so" (v. 8. 5), the other two from Tatian (iv. 16. 7, 8).

But few though these examples are, they suffice to rouse the suspicion that in quotations which we cannot trace—especially in the long narrative passages which are so numerous in Books v–vii—a context, which would have explained or modified their meaning, has often been ignored. And there are actually signs that this has occurred. When we are told that Proclus affirmed that the four prophetesses, daughters of Philip, were "after him" (iii. 31. 4), we ask, "After whom?" But we are left to guess. Again when, in the Epistle of the martyrs of Lyons (v. 1. 36), we read that "after this" their martyrdoms were varied in character, we ask, "After what?" But the "intervening remarks" which might have informed us have been omitted. In like manner we are sometimes baffled as we read the extracts from the letters of Dionysius of Alexandria: vi. 40. 5, "And what was the way in which He wonderfully brought *it* about?" What was "it"? vi. 42. 5, "*Therefore* the divine martyrs espoused the cause of certain of the fallen brethren." Wherefore? vii. 10. 5, "The thankofferings that Macrianus made to them." To whom? The context might have answered our question in each case. But it is withheld. The context also would have made easier the interpretation of the passage, beginning at vii. 10. 2, which has perplexed the commentators.[1]

It has been debated whether Eusebius himself transcribed the numerous passages from earlier writers which are to be found in his *History*. Several arguments combine to show that as a rule he did not do so. In the first place, *a priori* probability may be invoked. The first seven books, in which

[1] See note thereon.

most of the quotations appear, were written at Cæsarea.[1] In that city was the school of Pamphilus, in which the art of copying manuscripts was sedulously cultivated. There, too, was the library from which Eusebius drew most of the materials for the *History*.[2] There must have been many in the school ready to relieve him of the mechanical work of transcription. It would be natural that he should avail himself of this assistance, reserving to himself work that required special skill, and could not be delegated to others. It is true that he collected some of his material at Jerusalem, where probably such help was not available. But the terms in which he records his researches at that place are notable. In the library of Ælia, he says, "we have been able *ourselves* to gather together the material for our present work."[3] It is possible that the word "ourselves" implies that he was his own transcriber. If so, he may be pointing a contrast between his method at Jerusalem and the facilities which he enjoyed in his own city.

But the textual quotations themselves supply some evidence that they were not penned by him. In the great majority of instances an extract which begins with a complete sentence has a word or phrase which binds it to the preceding context—καί, δέ, μὲν οὖν, or the like. It seems that in every case in which the connecting particle was in the exemplar, it is carried over to the transcript.[4] But it is often meaningless in a passage divorced from its context. Why then is it rarely or never deleted? A possible answer to the question is that the quotations were penned, not by the historian, who would realize their inappropriateness, but by a scribe whose one aim was to reproduce the text that lay before him.

Again, this hypothesis helps us to explain the fact that so many of the quotations begin or end with broken sentences, and are consequently not completely intelligible. A scribe may sometimes have begun an extract a little before (v. 7. 2, 6; 24. 14) or a little after (iv. 8. 2; v. 2. 2; vii. 25. 9) the point at which Eusebius intended. Or he may have stopped short of (iv. 8. 2; 11. 2; 16. 6; vi. 25. 14; 43. 17; vii. 24. 9) or gone beyond (ii. 17. 17) the word at which he was meant to end. If the scribes had understood the marks which Eusebius made on the exemplars for their guidance, the number of unintelligible

[1] vii. 28. 1. [2] vi. 32. 3. [3] vi. 20. 1.

[4] Out of 51 extracts in which the particle is absent, 28 are the beginning, or the whole of a document (i. 13. 6, 10; iv. 11. 12; 13. 1; 15. 3; 26. 3; v. 1. 3; 4. 2 (?); 16. 3; 19. 3 (*bis*); 20. 2; vi. 11. 3, 5; 45; vii. 13; 30. 2; viii. 17. 3; ix. 1. 3; 7. 3 (?); 9a. 1; 10. 7; x. 5. 2, 15, 18, 21; 6. 1; 7. 1); and six had no particle in the original text (ii. 25. 4; iii. 20. 7; 29. 2; 36. 7, 14; iv. 17. 2). Only 17 are doubtful (ii. 9. 2; iii. 32. 3; v. 2. 5; 17. 1; 18. 4, 11; 20. 4; 28. 13; vi. 2. 6; 25. 11; 41. 1; 43. 7; vii. 7, 4; 22. 2; 25. 6; viii. 10. 2; ix. 7. 10).

quotations which we find in the *History* might have been considerably reduced.

But the strongest evidence for the view that Eusebius left to others the task of transcribing his textual quotations is a series of passages in which he introduces extracts, indicating more or less fully their contents. The first of these is in i. 10. 2–4. He essays to show that our Lord's ministry lasted through the terms of office of four high priests, none of whom ruled for more than a year. By way of proof he gives a quotation from Josephus (§§ 4, 5) which does not substantiate his statements, while the passage of which it is a part shatters his theory.[1] It cannot be supposed that he wrote his introductory remarks with the passage before him. The facts are explained if he wrote from memory, and subsequently marked the passage to be copied by a scribe.

We have already mentioned i. 11. 1–3, and shown that in those three sections Eusebius has misrepresented Josephus in several particulars.[2] We may now point out that they are an introduction to a passage which he immediately quotes (§§ 4–6) stating distinctly that it confirms the statements which he had made. But it not only contradicts some of them, but says nothing at all about the banishment of Herod Antipas, which Josephus relates in a later chapter. It is obvious that Eusebius unconsciously combined the two passages, with the result that he puts the banishment under Tiberius[3] instead of Gaius. He could hardly have copied the passage which follows without noting and correcting his errors.

In ii. 2. 1, 2 Eusebius states that Pilate, having heard of the miracles and resurrection of the Lord, sent a report of them to Tiberius. This, he says, was "the account given by Tertullian." But in the passage to which he appeals (§§ 5, 6) there is no mention either of Pilate, or of the miracles and the resurrection, and it is not necessarily implied that "the news from Palestine" was conveyed in an official document.

In iii. 19 he summarizes a passage of Hegesippus quoted in c. 20. The summary states that the grandsons of Jude were informed against "on the ground that they were of the family of David, *and that they bore kinship to Christ Himself.*" There is nothing in the quotation corresponding to the italicized words.

In iii. 32. 2 we find a statement concerning the martyrdom of Symeon. It is said to have been borrowed from Hegesippus, and the phraseology shows that Eusebius combined two distinct passages of that author in his summary. But he is unaware of the fact: for in § 3 he quotes one of the two passages as sufficient evidence for what he has said—which it

[1] See note on i. 10. 2–6.

[2] P. 20 above.

[3] Elsewhere (ii. 4. 1) he puts the banishment in its proper place under Gaius.

is not; while he quotes the second in a different connection in § 6. Once again he has trusted to memory for his introductory sentences, and has failed to observe that his quotation does not bear them out.

In the next chapter (iii. 33. 1, 2) he paraphrases, retaining many of its phrases, the passage in which Tertullian gives an account of the correspondence of Trajan and Pliny, quoted immediately afterwards (§ 3). But in the summary he substitutes "put to death" (§ 1) for the words "driven out of office" in the text.

In iv. 22. 1 we are told that on his journey to Rome Hegesippus associated with many bishops. But the passage from Hegesippus (§ 2 f.) which is said to record that fact does not mention the many bishops. Is it credible that Eusebius could have transcribed the passage on which his statement was based, and in so doing have omitted that most important part of it which referred to the bishops?

In v. 17. 1 Eusebius says that the anonymous writer against the Montanists mentions a treatise written by a certain Miltiades against that heresy. The passage referred to is forthwith quoted; but in it the writer of the treatise is called Alcibiades. Evidently one or other name is incorrect. If Eusebius had written down the quotation immediately after his own statement it is very improbable that he should have failed to correct either the previous paragraph or his transcription.[1]

In vii. 4 he seems to take the "peace" mentioned in a passage quoted in the following chapter from Dionysius of Alexandria as a cessation of persecution. It obviously means the concord which had been reached regarding Novatianism.

These eight passages confirm the suggestion, made above, that Eusebius relied on his memory, when he made statements which he believed he had found in his sources. And they show that he left parts of his work in hands other than his own, with a confidence that was not always rewarded. In the result we cannot acquit him of the charge of careless writing. The most retentive of memories will lead a historian into mistakes, if it is not constantly checked by reference to the documents; and the work of the most careful scribes should not be published, without collation with the originals from which they were copied. But, on the other hand, our investigation makes it clear that Eusebius understood the principle —not always recognized in practice by historians of a later date—that all history, which is worthy of the name, must be based on a study of contemporary documents.

[1] In vi. 14. 10 the words quoted from Origen are no proof of the conclusion that is apparently drawn from them.

IV. *Eusebius as Historian and Critic.*

Eusebius of Cæsarea was the first writer to conceive the idea of presenting to the world a history of the Christian Church as a unit standing by itself.[1] His aim was to trace its internal development, and its relation, century by century, to the Empire. And in the accomplishment of his design, he determined that his work, the difficulty of which he duly appreciated,[2] should be based, as far as possible, on the evidence of ancient documents.[3] The very fact that he contemplated such a treatise sets him apart as a man of singular genius, and the laborious zeal which he brought to his task deserves the gratitude of all subsequent scholars. Without the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, the story of the Church in the first three centuries of its life would have been a blank.

So far all will agree. But it will also be agreed that in the execution of his noble design Eusebius failed, in some respects, to display himself as an ideal historian. It is our purpose here to point out some of the defects of his performance, and at the same time to vindicate him against certain strictures which to us seem unjust.

He has been accused of making use of unauthentic documents. One of these is the famous passage in the *Antiquities* of Josephus concerning Jesus, quoted in i. 11. 7, 8. This is possibly a Christian interpolation. But Eusebius can scarcely be blamed for not recognizing it as such, since the most recent critics are not unanimous in rejecting it.[4] Again, in ii. 17 extracts are given from the treatise *De Vita Contemplativa*, as a work of Philo. But, though not long ago it was generally held to be a Christian forgery of about the year 300, later criticism seems to have re-established its genuineness.[5]

But it is clear that Eusebius did accept as genuine two documents which were certainly forgeries. The first of these is the account of the mission of Thaddæus at Edessa (i. 13). This cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the third century. But it is fair to remark that we do not know that Eusebius had before him the whole of the treatise : and its late date is most evidently suggested in passages to which he does not refer. It is possible that he was imposed upon by the duplicity of an Edessene correspondent.[6] The second is the letter to the *Commune Asiæ*, attributed in the inscription in

[1] i. 1. 3 (see note), 5. [2] i. 1. 3. [3] i. 1. 4.

[4] See note on i. 11. 7.

[5] See note on ii. 16. 2. If the tract was composed as late as 300, some five or six years before the chapter was written, Eusebius's honesty, rather than his critical insight, might be disputed.

[6] See note on i. 13. 5.

Eusebius' copy to Marcus Aurelius, but assigned by him to Antoninus Pius (iv. 12; 13). He appears to have found it in respectable company in a volume of treatises of Justin Martyr :[1] but that he had some hesitation in using it is suggested by the fact that he appeals to Melito as a witness that Antoninus wrote letters of the same kind. Thus, it seems, there are but two documents, among the many which he quotes, for whose acceptance Eusebius deserves censure :[2] a number remarkably small in the case of a writer in an uncritical age.

We may now turn to consider some characteristics of our author which have more seriously marred his work. One of these is his careless habit of making statements, apparently from memory, for which his authorities give no warrant. On this enough has been said in the previous section.[3]

Another is his bias. Eusebius had an extreme dislike to the doctrine of Chiliasm, which was accepted by many of the early Fathers. The Cerinthian heresy was, in his judgement, sufficiently damnified by the fact that it held that error.[4] He regarded Papias as the cause of the spread of such teaching in the primitive Church; and for that reason alone, it would seem, he described him as "a man of exceedingly small intelligence."[5] In consequence, to our great loss, he evidently quoted as little as possible from him; and of the three extracts given, one is introduced with the avowed aim of showing that he was not, as Irenæus stated, a hearer of the apostles.[6] The same prejudice may have produced Eusebius' indecision as to the canonicity of the Apocalypse.[7]

Again, prejudice has had much to do with the unsatisfactory character of the notices of heresy in the *History*. To Eusebius, as indeed to the majority of Church writers, heretics were emissaries of the devil. He never allows a heretic to state his views in his own words. He is content to cull a few lines from Irenæus, or some other orthodox theologian, which often do not convey the salient features of the system in question, even as pictured by its opponent. Thus, of the teaching of Cerinthus only one doctrine—and that subsidiary—is mentioned;[8] the passage devoted to Satorninus and Basilides tells us almost nothing of their tenets;[9] while there is no notice whatever of Marcion. Bias, leagued perhaps with want of interest in doctrine, as compared with historic incident, has led Eusebius to such scanty and unfair treatment of heterodox systems.

[1] See note on iv. 13. 1–7. It will be observed that recent critics are disposed to admit that the rescript is not a mere fabrication.

[2] We do not discuss here the rescript to Fundanus (iv. 9; see note on iv. 8. 8).

[3] Pp. 20, 26, 27.

[4] iii. 28; see iii. 28. 1, note. Cp. vi. 7.

[5] iii. 39. 11–13.

[6] *Ib.* 2–4.

[7] iii. 24. 18; 25. 2, 4.

[8] iii. 28.

[9] iv. 7. 1–8.

But almost greater is his bias against persecutors. Like the heretics, in his eyes they are the servants of Satan. They have no virtues. He delights to portray the iniquities of emperors who oppressed the Church;[1] he lays bare, with seeming pleasure, the horrors of their last moments.[2] But little is said of the demerits of those who let the Church alone. The provincial governors are dealt with in like manner; and no excuse is made for them on the ground that, as must often have been the case, in torturing the Christians they were fulfilling a painful duty which they could not evade.[3] On the other hand it must be remarked that credit is given, to some of the emperors who persecuted, for kindliness to the Christians before the persecution began, such as Diocletian[4] and Valerian.[5] Indeed, neither the character of Diocletian, nor even that of Galerius, is blackened; while the descriptions of the evil deeds of Maxentius and Maximin are corroborated by other writers.[6] Eusebius' bias lies therefore rather in omissions in his account of emperors who did not persecute, than in exaggerations in what he says of those who did. This is perhaps most conspicuously illustrated in the person of Licinius. In Book ix he is "beloved of God," "honoured for understanding and piety,"[7] "an advocate of peace and piety";[8] and a little latter, in the panegyric at Tyre, he is described in terms which imply that he was a devout Christian, and "most dearly beloved of God."[9] But when he begins to persecute he is a "hater of mankind," rapacious, drunken, lascivious.[10] It is hardly possible that a noble character should degenerate so rapidly. Either the earlier praise, or the later denunciation, was undeserved.

These two portraits of Licinius are important, as showing that bias is not inconsistent with honesty. For Eusebius when he wrote Book x did not withdraw his laudations of Licinius in Book ix,[11] and in Book x itself he retains the fulsome adulation of him in the Tyrian panegyric. He merely intimates that between 313 and 324 Licinius had become mad. Within a decade the emperor had been metamorphosed into another man.[12]

Yet Eusebius has been accused of dishonesty. Gibbon, whose bias in certain matters is not less than that of Eusebius, asserts that he "indirectly confesses that he has related

[1] viii. 14; Append. 3.
[2] viii. 16. 3–5; ix. 9. 5–8; 10. 13–15; Append. 3.
[3] *M.P.* 1. 4; 10. 2. [4] viii. 1. 1–6. [5] vii. 10. 3.
[6] See notes on viii. 14. [7] ix. 9. 1. [8] *Ib.* 9a. 12.
[9] x. 4. 16, 60. [10] *Ib.* 8. 12, 13.
[11] Except, perhaps, in ix. 9. 1, where, in the shorter text, his name and the flattering epithets, applied to *both* emperors, are omitted. The alteration of ix. 11. 9 was inevitable.
[12] ix. 9. 1, 12; x. 8. 2, 9, 14.

whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of religion." [1] This statement is based on two passages (viii. 1. 7–2. 3; *M.P.* (S) 12), which actually give lurid accounts of the disorders in the Church before and during the great persecution, and one of which affirms that the persecution was a divine judgement brought about by the sins of the Christians. If this is dishonesty or *suppressio veri*, it is of a kind which nullifies its own purpose.[2] Moreover Eusebius on several occasions does place on record incidents which might "tend to the disgrace of religion." Such are the failures of Christians under the trial of persecution.[3] Other examples of the alleged dishonesty of Eusebius have been adduced. Thus Döllinger asserts that he "suppresses everything calculated to bring into notice the opposition in matters of doctrine which Origen provoked." [4] He seems to have overlooked the passage (vi. 36. 4) in which we are told that Origen wrote to very many rulers of churches regarding his orthodoxy, and the reader is referred, for information about them, to the sixth book of the *Apology for Origen*, which Eusebius himself wrote. Bright cannot acquit him of "telling only a piece of the truth," because in vii. 26. 1 he describes the *Refutation and Defence* of Dionysius of Alexandria as "on the same subject" as letters previously mentioned "against Sabellius," though it is in fact a reply to charges against Dionysius himself of heretical teaching.[5] But Eusebius is there simply mentioning certain treatises of Dionysius entitled "Against Sabellius." That was actually the title of the *Refutation* in Eusebius' own copy; [6] and the letter of Dionysius of Rome, which called it forth, had a similar title in St. Athanasius' copy.[7] Eusebius cannot fairly be called dishonest, on the ground that he did not give, in his list, a summary of a work to which he referred by its correct title. Neither can he be held guilty, as some have said, of altering Josephus's story of the death of Agrippa to bring it into agreement with Acts (ii. 10. 6: see note), till evidence is forthcoming that he altered the passage as it stood in the MS. which he used. There is, in fact, no ground for the opinion that, in his *History*,[8] Eusebius was willingly untruthful.

But if Eusebius was an honest though biased historian, it cannot be denied that his critical faculty was often at fault.

[1] Gibbon, ii. 135. [2] Cp. Westcott, *Two Empires*, p. 22 ff.
[3] See, *e.g.*, v. 1. 11; vi. 41. 11–13; vii. 32. 22; viii. 3. 1 (= *M.P.* (S) 1. 3); *M.P.* 2. 1.
[4] *Hippolytus and Callistus*, E.T., p. 243.
[5] W. Bright, *Eusebius' Eccl. Hist.* (1881), p. xlvi.
[6] Eus., *Præp. Ev.* vii. 18. [7] Ath. *Dec.* 26.
[8] In his *V.C.* unpleasant episodes, no doubt, are ignored. Cp. x. 9. 4, note.

His attempt to show that the Therapeutæ of Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa* were Christians (ii. 17), on the ground of certain similarities between their mode of life and worship and that of churchmen of his own day, is an example in point. The wrong-headedness of his arguments is only matched by that of modern critics of repute, who have maintained, on similar grounds, that the tract is a forgery of the third or fourth century.[1]

But the shortcomings of Eusebius as a critic are most easily perceived when we consider how readily he accepts contradictory conclusions. Thus the martyrdom of James the Just is dated in 62 A.D., in accordance with the account given of it by Josephus (ii. 23. 2; 24). Yet in the passage which actually introduces Josephus' references to it (ii. 23. 19), and elsewhere, Eusebius follows Hegesippus (ii. 23. 18) in placing it seven years later, immediately before the siege of Jerusalem.[2] Again, Eusebius puts the accession of Pope Dionysius after the death of Dionysius of Alexandria,[3] undisturbed by the fact, which he records (vii. 26. 1), that they corresponded with each other. In i. 9, in a neat piece of criticism (one of the few in the *History*), he shows that the *Acts of Pilate* displayed their lack of authenticity by misdating the Passion. But immediately afterwards (i. 10) he discusses the duration of the Lord's ministry: the argument is wholly illusory, and it involves a date for the Crucifixion which coincides almost exactly with that which he had previously rejected.[4] Moreover he attempts to prove that Hegesippus flourished—in other words, wrote his *Memoirs*—in the reign of Hadrian (iv. 8. 2: see note). The argument is not convincing, but here we need only observe that the conclusion is inconsistent with a passage in which Hegesippus mentions Pope Eleutherus (iv. 22. 3), and which was in Eusebius's memory when he wrote iv. 11. 7.

A more important error than any of those just mentioned is the date assigned to the martyrdom of Polycarp. Eusebius places it under Marcus Aurelius, while recent research has proved that it occurred in the reign of his predecessor, Antoninus Pius.[5] How came Eusebius to misplace it? The answer seems to be this. In the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus he knew only one martyr, Pope Telesphorus, who suffered in the first year of Antoninus.[6] He hints that during that period persecution had ceased.[7] The enemies of the Church were then not the persecutors, but the heretics.[8] But there was no doubt that Marcus Aurelius was hostile to

[1] See ii. 16. 2; 17, notes.
[2] See ii. 23. 2, 18, notes.
[3] See vii. 27. 1, note.
[4] See note on i. 10. 2–6.
[5] See note on iv. 15. 1.
[6] iv. 10.
[7] iv. 7. 1, 2; cp. iv. 8. 6.
[8] iv. 7. 2–14; 10; 11. 1–5.

the Christians.[1] Accordingly it is stated that in his reign the policy of persecution was resumed.[2] How Eusebius was led to adopt that view of the attitude of the successive emperors towards the Church is a matter of conjecture.[3] But that he believed it to be true seems certain. And it compelled him to place Polycarp's martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius.

Probably it was on the same ground that he concluded that Justin was also martyred in that reign. In this he was right;[4] but his false premise led him into error as to the date of Justin's second Apology, which he supposed to have been presented to Marcus Aurelius.[5] It contains a narrative of persecution inconsistent with Eusebius' view of the attitude of Antoninus towards the Church. Nevertheless it certainly belongs to the reign of Antoninus, and was probably written not long after the first.[6]

For a similar reason, doubtless, the (forged) letter to the *Commune Asiæ* in favour of the Christians is attributed to Antoninus, notwithstanding the inscription which ascribes it to Marcus Aurelius.[7] This blunder was probably assisted by Eusebius's curious ignorance of the names and styles of the Antonine Emperors.[8] His confusion on this matter has been the cause of other errors. Thus, according to Eusebius, the commander in whose campaign against the Germans the incident of the Thundering Legion took place was not the Emperor, but "his brother Marcus Aurelius"![9] And it may have been under a like confusion that he stated that the Apology of Aristides was presented to the Emperor Hadrian.[10]

But there was another factor in the production of these and other mistakes. It frequently happened that a roll contained a series of short treatises, or letters.[11] It is evident that Eusebius assumed that in certain of such rolls the documents were grouped on a chronological principle: the documents in a single roll belonged to the same period, or they succeeded one another in the order of time. The assumption was gratuitous, and was the parent of many errors. Thus, a single roll seems to have contained the two Apologies of Justin, together with his "work against the Greeks," before the first Apology, and the "Letter to the Assembly of Asia," before the second.[12] Eusebius took for granted that the four documents were arranged in chronological order. But, as we have seen, the Letter could not, in his view, have been written

[1] v. Pref.; 1. [2] iv. 15. 1. [3] Cp. iv. 26. 5, note.
[4] iv. 8. 3, note. [5] iv. 16. 1. [6] See note, p. 143.
[7] iv. 13, and notes. [8] iv. 10, note.
[9] v. 5. 1. [10] iv. 3. 3, note.
[11] See ii. 18; iv. 3. 3; 11. 11–13. 7; 15; 16–18; 23; 26; 27; vi. 22; 43; 44–46; vii. 2–9; 20–23; 26, and notes; also *Euseb.* pp. 136–178.
[12] *Euseb.*, p. 145–147.

by Marcus Aurelius, nor the second Apology have been addressed to Antoninus. Accordingly he placed the first Apology and the Letter under Antoninus, and the second Apology under Marcus, thus divorcing the second Apology from the first, to which it was an appendix. Again, Eusebius found the acts of martyrdom of Pionius and Carpus in the same roll as the Letter of the Smyrnæans concerning Polycarp. He takes for granted that the three were contemporary with each other. The result is that only the last is correctly dated, and that by accident.[1] The Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides may have been in a single roll. If so, Eusebius would have inferred that they belonged to the same period.[2] The writings of Apollinarius were apparently written on one roll, and it seems that Eusebius wrongly concluded that the last in the roll was the latest.[3] The order of the letters on Novatianism in the roll which he used [4] apparently led him to regard the synod at Rome which dealt with that subject as prior to the synod of Africa, contrary to fact.[5] Finally he assumed that the series of Festal Letters of Dionysius of Alexandria [6] were arranged in chronological order, beginning with the outbreak of the persecution of Valerian, and gave extracts from them, by way of illustration of the history of Alexandria during the persecution and the following years. But at least one of the letters belongs to the time of Decius,[7] and it seems that several others are misplaced.[8] These examples suffice to show that Eusebius' chronology cannot be trusted when there is reason to suppose that he is using volumes of tracts.

Eusebius, then, was a poor critic. But we must go further and admit that at times, when criticism was specially needed, he exercised his critical faculty scarcely at all, and was simply credulous. Thus he accepts as historical the impossible list of bishops of Jerusalem.[9] To be sure he found it in a document, perhaps in the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus. But the number of names was incredibly great. Eusebius was impressed with it, but his qualms disappeared at the suggestion that the bishops were all short-lived. Such a thing as interpolation did not enter his thoughts.

In other instances he was credulous with less excuse; for he had nothing to go upon but local tradition. The people at Jerusalem told him some extremely improbable stories about the calumniators of Bishop Narcissus [10] (who, by the way, was by no means short-lived),[11] and scarcely more credible tales concerning Bishop Alexander's appointment.[12] He

[1] iv. 15. 46–48, notes. [2] iv. 3. [3] iv. 27, note.
[4] vi. 43. 3, 4. [5] vi. 43. 2, note. [6] vii. 20–23.
[7] vii. 11. 20, note. [8] See note, p. 250. [9] See note, p. 167.
[10] vi. 9. 7, 8. [11] vi. 11. 3. [12] vi. 11. 1, 2.

believed them without demur. Even the miracle of the changing of water into oil for the lamps, wrought by Narcissus,[1] did not daunt him. But here he had the evidence of his eyes. Did he not see the oil that was preserved by the faithful as a proof of the miracle? At Jerusalem too he saw "the throne of James," and witnessed the honour paid to it by the brethren. How could he doubt that it had survived two destructions of the city?[2] All these examples of credulity had their place at Ælia, which claimed, at least from the days of Hegesippus, to possess monuments of the apostolic age,[3] and which, in Eusebius' day, was pre-eminently the holy city. The place and time were favourable to pious credulity.

Cæsarea Philippi was also a holy place.[4] And there too Eusebius showed himself credulous. Local tradition recounted a yearly miracle: on a festival day a victim was thrown into springs at the source of the Jordan, and immediately disappeared in the waters.[5] The evidence for the fact was good, and the phenomenon can be explained as a result of natural causes. The credulity consisted merely in regarding it as supernatural. Such credulity does not destroy the credit of the historian,[6] any more than his belief that the persecution of Diocletian was a divine judgement on the Church.[7] But when he tells us of the miracle of Astyrius which put an end to the custom just related, in spite of the fact that it was vouched for by friends of Astyrius who still survived, we cannot acquit him of accepting a story which embodies no more than a very small nucleus of fact. And his credulity concerning the woman with the issue of blood and the image of our Saviour[8] is certainly misplaced, though we need not doubt that "cures" were wrought by the "strange species of herb." Eusebius was a sightseer at Cæsarea Philippi, as well as at Jerusalem, and he swallowed too implicitly what his guides told him.[9]

But credulity is not a prominent feature of the *History*. The few lapses of this kind that we have noted do not seriously detract from its value.

Two defects of the *History* remain to be mentioned before we pass on to other matters. The first is its failure to inform us as to the historical causes and relations of notable events. This is perhaps most clear in the accounts of the persecutions. Why did the Emperors persecute the Christians? Eusebius

[1] vi. 9. 3. [2] vii. 19; 32. 29. [3] ii. 23. 18.
[4] Matt. xvi. 13. [5] vii. 17.
[6] Eusebius wrongly regarded other well-attested happenings as miraculous. See *M.P.* 2. 3 (L); 4. 14, 15; 9. 12.
[7] viii. 1. 7–9. [8] vii. 18.
[9] For another instance of Eusebius' credulity see vi. 29. 3.

gives us no general answer, and the causes of persecution adduced in special instances are not satisfactory.[1] Why did Diocletian, the friend of Christians, suddenly attack the Church? On this matter the historian has not a word to say.[2] Except in the *Martyrs of Palestine* he does not even indicate the method of the attacks, which would be explained by the imperial ordinances under which they were carried out. An edict of Decius is mentioned,[3] but nothing is said of its contents. No edict or rescript of Valerian is referred to, though the official record of the examination of Dionysius gives us valuable information.[4] At the beginning of Book viii we are given summaries of the first three edicts of Diocletian.[5] But the fourth, which was the first to enact the penalty of death,[6] is not referred to throughout the book. Thus the butcheries recorded in cc. 7–13 are unexplained.[7] A similar omission is observable in Book x. We find there a number of imperial ordinances of great value. Five of them are intimately connected with the Donatist schism.[8] But they are not placed in their historical frame. The Donatists are not so much as named. We must seek their significance in works of writers other than Eusebius.[9] Other illustrations of this characteristic of the *History* might be mentioned, but it is not necessary to pursue the subject.

The only other defect of the work which needs to be noticed is its inadequacy regarding the affairs of the Western Church. Eusebius' silence about the Donatist schism is an example. Is his omission to indicate the historical setting of the five letters of Constantine, the text of which he gives us, due to carelessness, or to ignorance of the troubles which in Africa followed the cessation of the persecution? The latter is the more probable alternative. For his knowledge of Western ecclesiastical literature is slight, and it is mainly confined to writers who used the Greek language. Such were Clement of Rome,[10] the Martyrs of Lyons,[11] Irenæus, Hippolytus,[12] Gaius[13] and Pope Cornelius.[14] And all these writers had more or less intimate relations with the East. The only Latin writers of whose works he makes use are Tertullian[15] and Cyprian.[16] Of the former he quotes a few passages, all from the *Apologeticus*, which he knew only in a bad Greek version.[17] Cyprian is mentioned in connexion with the Baptismal Controversy, and a short summary of one of his letters, "composed in the Latin language," is given. But that Eusebius

[1] vi. 39; vii. 10. 4. [2] viii. 2. [3] vi. 41. 1.
[4] vii. 11. 6–11. [5] viii. 2. 4, 5; 6. 10. [6] *M.P.* 3. 1, note.
[7] viii. 7–13, note. [8] x. 5. 15–7. 2. [9] See note, p. 314.
[10] iii. 16; 38. 1–4. [11] v. 1–4. [12] vi. 22.
[13] ii. 25. 6, 7; iii. 28. 1, 2; 31. 4; vi. 20. 3. [14] vi. 43. 3 ff.
[15] ii. 2. 4–6; 25. 4; iii. 20. 7; 33; v. 5. 5–7.
[16] vi. 43. 3. [17] ii. 2. 4, notes.

had the Latin text before him, or that he read it with care, may be doubted. The fact is that his knowledge of Latin was not great. He gives us fourteen imperial ordinances in a Greek dress.[1] At least one of these was translated from the Latin by himself "to the best of his ability."[2] But in some instances, where the Greek can be placed beside the original Latin, we find errors.[3] If he had been plentifully supplied with Latin writings of a less simple type, he might have found difficulty in turning them to good account. At all events, even of such distinguished Westerns as Tertullian and Hippolytus he knew little. He supposed that Tertullian of Carthage was a Roman of high rank, and gives no list of his writings.[4] His list of the works of Hippolytus is imperfect;[5] and, while he was aware that he was a bishop, he confesses ignorance of the church over which he presided. He may have even imagined that it was situated in the East.[6] The *Ecclesiastical History* is not really a history of the Church as a whole. It relates the story of the Church of the East, supplemented with some notices of Western affairs. The districts of which Eusebius had comparatively full knowledge were Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.

V. *Chronology.*

In the portion of his *Chronicle* which deals with the Christian period Eusebius dates all events by the regnal dates of the Roman Emperors, which he synchronizes with the years of Abraham and the Olympiads. Dr. C. H. Turner has shown that the regnal years always begin in September—apparently about 15 September; and that the first regnal year of each emperor commences in the September next after his accession.[7] In the *History* also he dates as a rule by regnal years. We may assume that the years in both works are calculated in the same way; and this with the greater confidence, inasmuch as usually the dates in the *History* coincide with those of the *Chronicle*. Occasionally, indeed, the dates of the *History* are approximate, while in the *Chronicle* they are definite.[8] But approximate dates are scarcely admissible in a chronicle. At times, again, he places an event one year earlier or later in the *History* than in the *Chronicle*:[9] in such instances he

[1] iv. 9; 13. 1–7; vii. 13; viii. 17. 3–10; ix. 1. 3–6; 7. 3–14; 9a. 1–9; 10. 7–11; x. 5–7. [2] iv. 8. 8.
[3] See notes on iv. 9. 1–3; viii. 17. 7, 9; x. 5. 3.
[4] ii. 2. 4, note. [5] vi. 22, and notes. [6] vi. 20. 2.
[7] *J.T.S.* i. 187–192. Eusebius seems to be not quite consistent in his treatment of events between the accession of an Emperor and the following September, sometimes placing them in his first year, sometimes in the last year of his predecessor. [8] iv. 1; v. 28. 7.
[9] i. 9. 2; iii. 34; v. 9; vi. 21. 1. Cp. v. 22 (see below, p. 44).

is no doubt revising his former judgement. Once he corrects an obvious error.[1]

But in the *History* dates indicated by regnal years are few in number. There are not thirty in the first seven books. In Book viii there is only one,[2] others being defined by years of the Great Persecution.[3] There are none in Books ix and x. Now when we turn to the *Martyrs of Palestine* we find almost all incidents dated accurately, but only one by a regnal year.[4] It is the first persecution edict of Diocletian, which is dated in similar fashion in Book viii. All the rest are assigned to years of the persecution. In the *Chronicle* (p. 310 ff.), we discover a somewhat similar phenomenon. The regnal years of Galerius are ignored. The year following 20 Diocletian is the third of the persecution, the fourth and following years synchronizing with the first seven of the reign of Constantine. This may be explained if we suppose that the Christians, in times of persecution, refrained from dating by the regnal years of the persecuting emperors.[5]

What, then, is meant by the years of the persecution? Let us note, first, that, at least in the *Martyrs of Palestine*, they did not begin, like the regnal years, in September. The chapter headings of the Longer Recension (L) tell us that the martyrs Ares and Promus suffered in the sixth year of the persecution, and Peter Abshelama in the seventh.[6] In the text, of both recensions, we are informed that the former martyrdom took place on December 14, and the latter on January 10 (11).[7] We may conclude that a normal persecution year was at least approximately identical with a Julian year, beginning with January 1 and ending on December 31. If this is assumed it is easy to determine with what years of the Christian era the several years of the persecution coincided. Eusebius says that Diocletian and Maximinian abdicated in the second year.[8] But from other sources we learn that the abdication took place on 1 May, 305.[9] Again he tells us that Constantine "made his entry into the Empire"[10] in the third year, referring no doubt to his election as Augustus in July 306.[11] And he informs us that the toleration edict of April 311 was issued in the eighth year.[12] Thus the persecu-

[1] v. Pref. 1. [2] viii. 2. 4. [3] viii. 13. 10; 16. 1.
[4] *M.P.* (S) Pref. 1. [5] Cp. vii. 23. 4, note.
[6] Vol. i., p. 328. [7] *M.P.* 10. 1, 2.
[8] *Chronicle*, p. 310; viii. 13. 10; *M.P.* 3. 1, 5. [9] See note, p. 266.
[10] *Chronicle*, p. 310: regnum invadit (*Chron. Pasch.*: ἐβασίλευσεν). Under the same year is recorded the appointment of Maximin and Severus as Cæsars. Mr. Baynes deduces from this "that Eusebius was confused in his chronology of events of imperial history" (*Classical Quarterly*, xix. 95). But it is conceivable that the year-number III is misplaced. Assuming that it was originally two lines lower down, the facts were correctly stated.
[11] P. 267. [12] viii. 16. 1 (contradicting *Chronicle*, p. 311); 17. 1, notes.

tion years, from the second to the eighth, coincided with the years 305 to 311 A.D. The first year accordingly ended *c.* 31 December, 304. But it was longer than a calendar year; for it included several martyrdoms in 303.[1] It covered the period from the beginning of the persecution—at the latest, April 303 [2]—to the end of 304.[3]

It is right, however, to call attention to a difficulty in the way of this hypothesis. We have assumed that Peter Abshelama was put to death in the seventh year. But the only authority for that statement is a chapter heading in the Syriac text of the Long Recension (CA). No year is indicated in the narrative of his martyrdom either of L or S. On the other hand, certain Greek summaries of the text of L place the martyrdom of Peter, and that of Pamphilus (February 16, or later),[4] in the sixth year.[5] If these summaries are to be trusted the normal persecution year must have begun between February 16 and March 5, the day on which Hadrian suffered in the seventh year.[6] It should be observed that the acceptance of this period for the beginning of the year does not involve an alteration of the date of a single event recorded in *M.P.* But there are strong reasons for rejecting it. The year numbers in C seem to be reliable.[7] Again, we are told that Peleus and Nilus were martyred on September 19, "when the seventh year was nearing its end."[8] But could September be described as near the close of a year which ended five months later? And lastly, it is highly improbable that Eusebius should have arbitrarily selected a day in the neighbourhood of March 1 as the beginning of a persecution year. Apparently it could not have been suggested by any recognized system of chronology.[9] He might, indeed, with good reason, have taken the date of the issue of the first persecution edict of Diocletian—the actual beginning of the persecution—as the starting point of his chronology. It was 24 February, 303.[10] But, if so, the second year—the year of the abdication—must have begun on 24 February, 305; and the first "year" must have extended from 24 February, 303 to 23 February, 305, a period of exactly two calendar years. This cannot be regarded as probable. We shall adhere, therefore, to the view that the persecution years were actually Julian years until it is refuted by evidence much more cogent than any which is now in our hands.[11]

[1] *M.P.* 1. 2, 5; 2. For the year see 1. 5b, note.
[2] *M.P.* (S) Pref. 1.
[3] For a fuller discussion see *Euseb.*, pp. 179 ff. [4] *M.P.* 11. 7.
[5] See vol. i, p. 328. [6] *M.P.* 11. 30; vol. i, p. 328.
[7] Violet, p. 146. [8] *M.P.* 13. 1; cp. L (vol. i, p. 328) with S.
[9] Jul. (*Orat.* iv, 155 B, E.T., p. 249 f.) knows no such New Year's Day. See also *J.T.S.* i. 188. [10] viii. 2. 4, note.
[11] Mr. Norman H. Baynes and Mr. G. W. Richardson advocate a new

It has been observed above that in the *History* Eusebius has made use of the periods of office of bishops, especially of the bishops of Rome, for chronological purposes.[1] It may be assumed that when he tells us that an event took place during the episcopate of one of the popes he has sufficient reason for his statement. But it is much less certain that he had exact knowledge of the dates of the accession and death of the pope referred to; and when he has gone astray in this matter he may mislead his readers as to the course of the development of the history of the Church. It is therefore necessary to say something here concerning the complicated problem of the succession of the Roman bishops in the first three centuries, and to indicate how far Eusebius is a reliable witness to the facts.

In his *Chronicle* Eusebius gives the year of accession, and the period of office in years (omitting odd months and days), of almost every Roman bishop from Linus to Marcellinus.[2] The *History* has the same series of names in the same order, and adds in every instance but one the duration of office; but it omits the year of accession more often than not. This omission is in most cases easily explained from the fact that a history admits of vague dating, which in annals is impossible. In the *Chronicle* Eusebius was obliged to place under a definite year the entry into office of every bishop whose name he recorded, even though he might have doubts as to the accuracy of the date: in such cases in the *History* he was content to indicate a period rather than a year. The differences in the terminal numbers between the *Chronicle* and the *History* are not numerous, and as a rule they are easily accounted for. In short we are justified in the belief that both works depended on the same authorities for the episcopal succession at Rome. What those authorities were it is important to discover.

It has been said that the dates of accession are frequently omitted in the *History*. More precisely, before the year 220

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explanation of the persecution years (*Classical Quarterly*, xix, p. 95 ff.). According to them a persecution year began shortly before Easter. But they ignore the dates given in the headings in L (vol. i, p. 327). Mr. Richardson's "conclusive" argument against our chronology of *M.P.* is a sentence in 7. 1 (G): ἐπὶ πέμπτον μὲν ἔτος ἤδη ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμὸς παρετείνετο, μὴν δὲ ἦν Ξανθικός κ.τ.λ. The word παρετείνετο contradicts its own heading, the heading of C, and the text of C and S. Both writers assert that Eusebius did not know the date of the abdication of the emperors; and Mr. Baynes adds that he was also ignorant of the date of Constantine's accession. Such statements are necessary for their theory, but it does not appear that they are well founded. For Mr. Baynes' assumption about Constantine, see p. 38.

[1] P. 13.

[2] The series is continued to Damasus in St. Jerome's translation. Probably the first three of the additional names, and certainly all the rest, were inserted by St. Jerome.

such omissions are rare (three out of fourteen bishops): after 220 accession dates never occur. Now by 220 the episcopate of Callistus had begun, and in his time—in the year 221—were published the *Chronographies* of Julius Africanus, of which Eusebius is known to have made use in his *Chronicle.*[1] Thus we may assume with probability that such dates as he gives were taken from that work.[2] It would seem, in fact, that Eusebius' main authority was a list of the popes which included simply a series of names, opposite each of which was the period of office expressed in years and, in some instances (as will be shown), months and perhaps days. To these notes, up to 219, he added from Africanus the accession years.

What was the historical value of his list? To answer that question we must turn to the document known as the Liberian or Philocalian catalogue—a list of the popes up to Liberius. This catalogue names the emperor under whom each pope was in office, and indicates the beginning and end of his episcopate by consular years. It is included in a collection of Latin writings, the compiler of which is generally styled The Chronographer of 354.[3] Among the treatises in this collection is a *Chronicle of the World,* which is happily preserved in another recension. A study of the two recensions proves that they are independent translations of a Greek original. Moreover from the second recension we learn that the original work was completed in the thirteenth year of Alexander Severus (234–5), and that it ended with a list of bishops of Rome, which has disappeared. The title of the list, which remains in the table of contents, runs, "Nomina episcoporum Romæ et quis quot annis præfuit"; the last words of which hint that the terms of office were set out in years only. The date, the character of the work, and the language in which it was written combine to suggest that it was the *Chronica* of Hippolytus mentioned on his chair. Now in the Liberian Catalogue we find a break at the point where Pontianus (230–235) is succeeded by Anteros, that is, just at the date of the *Chronica* of Hippolytus.[4] Previously each pope had been represented, by an obviously artificial arrangement, as having been consecrated in the year following the death of his predecessor. Subsequently, the death of one pope and the accession of the next are usually assigned to the same year: which indicates what must actually have happened. Thus we may infer that the earlier part of the Catalogue was based on a list of Roman bishops up to 230,

[1] See vi. 31. 2, note.

[2] Not perhaps without modification, as we shall see.

[3] The whole collection was edited by Mommsen in *M.G.H., Chron. Minora,* i. 13 ff.

[4] vi. 22, notes, p. 209. For further proofs see *D.C.B.*, i. 506 f.

which gave periods of office in years only, and did not record dates of accession.[1] That list was therefore probably compiled by Hippolytus, and was transferred from its original place, at the end of the *Chronica*, and embellished by later editors.

The Liberian Catalogue from Pontianus onwards is of high value, and from it, with the help of other historical documents, the dates of the Roman bishops up to 354 have been determined with considerable precision by Lightfoot,[2] and with still greater accuracy by Turner, who makes use of the fact, overlooked by earlier critics, that in the third century bishops were always consecrated on Sunday.[3] It is certain that Eusebius' list for that period closely resembled the Liberian Catalogue, but lacked the dates of accession. The dates which he gives for the period after 219 in his *Chronicle* must therefore have been calculated from the terminal numbers. Over these numbers, however, he blunders badly, on several occasions confusing months with years. The following table will show how his mistakes may be accounted for, on the supposition that the sheet of papyrus on which the list was written was mutilated, and that the numerals that remained were sometimes difficult to read. To the left of the names of the popes we place the terminal numbers of the Liberian Catalogue;[4] to the right those of Eusebius.

Liberian List.		*Eusebius.*
an. v, m. ii, d. vii	Pontianus	an. v (*H.E.* vi)
m. i, d. xii	Anteros	m. i
an. xiiii, d. x	Fabianus	an. xiii
[an. ii, m.] iii, d. x	Cornelius	an. ii (*H.E.* iii)
[an. iii, m.] viii, d. x	Lucius	m. viii
[an. iiii, m.] ii, d. xxi	Stephanus	an. iii (*H.E.* ii)
[an. ii, m.] xi, d. vi	Xystus	an. xi
an. viii, m. v, d. iiii	Dionysius	an. viiii
an. v, m. xi, d. xxv	Felix	an. v
[an.] viii, m. xi, d. iii	Eutychianus	m. viii (*H.E.* x)
[an.] xii, m. iiii, d. vii	Gaius	an. xv
[an. viii, m. iii, d. xxv]	Marcellinus	
[an. i, m. vii, d. xx	Marcellus]	

Here the confusion between months and years in the terminal

[1] The dates which in fact appear in this section of the Catalogue are a much later addition. See Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 261, 264–269, 301–303.

[2] *Clem.* i. 284 ff.

[3] *J.T.S.* xvii. 338 ff.

[4] As emended by Lightfoot (*l.c.*, 284 ff.). It is not claimed that the first column corresponds exactly with Eusebius' list. Some of the month-numbers, and most, if not all, of the day-numbers were probably omitted in it. See below.

numbers for Cornelius, Stephanus, Xystus and Eutychianus, and the omission of years in the case of Lucius and of years and months in the case of Marcellinus, are readily explained by mutilation at the places indicated by square brackets.[1] The fact that Eusebius has occasionally mistaken months for years proves that his list included some month-numbers as well as year-numbers; but it is easier to conceive how such errors should occur if we suppose that account was not taken of days. For example, if Eusebius saw three figures opposite the name of Eutychianus he could scarcely have imagined that the first represented months. Minor errors in the numerals, such as we find in the cases of Pontianus (*H.E.*), Fabianus, Cornelius (*Chronicle*), Stephanus (*Chronicle*) and Gaius, cause no difficulty. Such mistakes are of constant occurrence in manuscripts. But, if they were slips, the list which lay before Eusebius must have been written in Latin, not in Greek. The fact that in four instances the *History* differs from the *Chronicle* suggests that Eusebius took the figures in each work directly from his list.

In its earlier section the Liberian Catalogue, as we have it, is full of errors, due apparently to the aberrations of late editors, who divided Anencletus into two persons, Cletus and Anacletus, and transposed Pius and Anicetus. These errors have been eliminated by critical processes, and the result has been reached that Eusebius in his *History* preserves, in most cases, the original names and term numbers given by Hippolytus, though his dates in regnal years (derived from Africanus) are inconsistent with them. But it is improbable that he borrowed the former directly from Hippolytus, whose *Chronica* he had apparently not seen.[2] We must assume that he had not two lists, one for the earlier popes, and another for the later, but one for the whole series, copied from a very early recension of the Liberian Catalogue.

We set down here in tabular form the dates of accession of the earlier popes according to the catalogues of Hippolytus and Africanus. The first column gives the names of the popes from Linus to Pontianus. The second gives the terminal numbers in years, from Hippolytus, as we find them in the *History* and the *Chronicle*. The third gives the dates of accession, calculated from the terminal numbers backwards from the assured date of Pontianus. The fourth shows the dates of accession in the *Chronicle* and the *History*, derived, as we have seen, from Africanus.

[1] With regard to Lucius it should be noted that Eusebius is correct, the figure iii in the Liberian Catalogue being an insertion. Possibly it arose from $\overline{\text{m}}$ (= *menses*) in the original Latin list.

[2] See *J.T.S.* i. 194. The *Chronica* is not mentioned in the list of Hippolytus's writings in *H.E.* vi. 22.

Names.	*Duration.*	*Dates Hippolytus.*	*Dates Africanus.*
Linus	xii	64	68
Anencletus	xii	76	81
Clement	ix	88	93
Evarestus	viii (*Chronicle* ix)	97	101 (*Chronicle* 100)
Alexander	x	105	110 (*Chronicle* 109)
Xystus I	x	115	120
Telesphorus	xi	125	129
Hyginus	iv	136	138–9
Pius	xv	140	143
Anicetus	xi	155	158
Soter	viii	166	169
Eleutherus	xv (*H.E.* xiii)	174	178
Victor	x	189	193 (*H.E.* 190)
Zephyrinus	xviii	199	202 (*H.E. c.* 202)
Callistus	v	217	220 (*H.E.* 218–19)
Urban	viii (*Chronicle* ix)	222	(*Chronicle* 225; *H.E.* no date)
Pontianus		230	(*Chronicle* 234; *H.E.* no date)

It will be noticed that, from Victor on, the *Chronicle* and the *History* diverge. In the latter the term of Eleutherus is reduced from xv to xiii and the accession-year of Victor is set back from 1 Pertinax (beg. of 193) to 10 Commodus (190).[1] There is no doubt that the text of the *Chronicle* as given by St. Jerome is correct, and the term-number xv is supported by all other available authorities. It is clear therefore that Eusebius in his *History* made a deliberate alteration in the chronology, departing both from Hippolytus' term-number and from Africanus' date. He may have justified his treatment of the term-number by the consideration that in his Latin document xv (xu) might well have been an error for xiii. No doubt he had discovered evidence that Victor was bishop during the reign of Commodus.[2] These changes involved similar alterations in the dates of the following popes. But Eusebius contented himself with the insertion of "about" before the accession date of Zephyrinus, and the reduction of that of Callistus by a year or more.

We should expect *a priori* that the dates in the third column of our table would be more nearly correct than those in the fourth, though we cannot claim for them exact accuracy; for the Roman Hippolytus must have had better material to work upon than the Syrian Africanus. This expectation is confirmed by independent evidence. Polycarp, who was martyred in 155 or 156,[3] paid a visit to Rome when Anicetus was bishop. Col. 3 places the accession of Anicetus in 155: col. 4 places the accession at least two years after it. Again,

[1] *H.E.* v. 22.

[2] But he can hardly have deduced this conclusion from Hippol. *Ref.* ix. 12, as Turner suggests (*J.T.S.* xviii. 114 f.). See vi. 22, note, on "Against all the heresies."

[3] iv. 15. 1, note.

Lightfoot has shown that Pope Victor must have been in office some time before the end of 192.[1] This contradicts the date of his accession given in col. 4, but is in agreement with col. 3 (189) and with the date given in *H.E.*[2] On the whole therefore we conclude that the accession dates in col. 3 of the table are approximately correct.

Different opinions are, however, held as to the value of this list. Lightfoot has no difficulty in believing that all the persons named therein were monarchical bishops, though the earliest of them had less authority than the latest. On the other hand Harnack regards Anicetus as the first monarchical bishop of Rome; and he produces evidence to show that Telesphorus and Hyginus were contemporary presbyter-bishops.[3] His argument certainly does not compel assent.[4] Moreover Lightfoot has shown that Hegesippus, in the time of Anicetus, compiled a list of bishops which included the first nine of the above list, in the order in which they are there placed, and which apparently had terminal numbers.[5] It seems quite impossible that Hegesippus was in error as to Anicetus' immediate predecessors. His testimony therefore warrants the belief that at least from Telesphorus there was a regular succession of bishops; and "the reason for supposing Clement to have been a bishop is as strong as the universal tradition of the next ages can make it," though he was obviously "rather the chief of the presbyters than the chief over the presbyters."[6] Whatever authority the bishops from Clement to Pius may have had, we seem to have sufficient ground for the belief that they followed one another as leaders of the Church in some sort of regular succession, and that their several periods of activity are dated with reasonable exactness. It is also to be noted that this and other episcopal lists were evidently compiled with a polemical purpose against heretical teachers. Their general reliability is accordingly confirmed by the fact that there is no evidence that they were challenged by the Gnostics.[7]

[1] *Clem.* i. 341 f.

[2] See above, p. 44. Lightfoot (*ibid.*) shows that the date of Clement's epistle lies within the term of his episcopate, whether either col. 3 or col. 4 is accepted as correct.

[3] *Chron.* i. 178.

[4] Tert. *Val.* 4 says that Valentinus was a candidate for the papacy and that his rival was elected "ex martyrii prærogativa." Harnack assumes (1) that the story was true; (2) that Telesphorus was the only "martyr" among the early popes; (3) that his "martyrdom" was a confession made before his election, not the death which terminated his episcopate; and concludes (4) that his election took place in the time of Hyginus, under whom Valentinus came to Rome.

[5] But see *J.T.S.* xviii. 120. Lightfoot's conclusion is traversed by Harnack and Zahn. See *Euseb.*, pp. 70–89.

[6] Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 221.

[7] See *J.T.S.* xviii. 104.

But the reader must be referred, on the whole subject, to the discussions of Lightfoot in his *Philippians*, pp. 217–224, and in his *Clement*, vol. i, pp. 201–345; to Harnack's dissertation on *Die ältesten Bischofslisten* in *Chron.* i. pp. 70–230; and to Turner's articles in *J.T.S.*, i. 181–200; 529–553; xvii. 338–353; xviii. 103–134.

We may add here, for reference, the list of the later bishops of Rome mentioned in the *History*, with the dates of their consecration and death, as computed by Professor Turner. They are as follows:

		Consecration.		*Death.*
Pontianus	230	August 22?	235	October 29
Anteros	235	November 22	236	January 3
Fabian	236	January 10	250	January 20
Cornelius	251	March 6 *or* 13?	253	June 16 *or* 23
Lucius	253	June 26	254	March 5
Stephen	254	March 12	257	August 2
Xystus II	257	*c.* August 20	258	August 6
Dionysius	260	July 22	268	December 26
Felix	269	January 3	273	December 28
			or 274	December 29
Eutychianus	274	January 4	282 *or* 283	December 7
	or 275	January 3		
Gaius	282	December 17	295 *or* 296	April 22
	or 283	December 16		
Marcellinus	295	June 30	304	January 15?
	or 296	May 31		
Miltiades	310	July 2	314	January 10

VI. *Martyrs of Palestine.*

In the concluding section of this Introduction some explanation must be given of our method of dealing with the *Martyrs of Palestine.*

The shorter recension of that tract (S) is included in some manuscripts of the *History*, and follows Book viii in most of the editions. Here, as in the *History*, we translate Schwartz's text. The first scholar to suspect that a longer recension had been issued by Eusebius was apparently Valois. So long ago as 1659 he printed in his notes on *M.P.* 1 a Latin account of the martyrdom of Procopius, which was evidently translated from a contemporary document. It has a literary relation to the much shorter account in the above-mentioned recension. Valois concluded that at least in this place S was an abridgement of a longer text written by Eusebius. This surmise was confirmed by short notices of Palestinian martyrs in the Greek Menæa and Menologies, which, while resembling S, included details not found in it.

Further evidence of the existence of a longer recension was produced ninety years later, when S. E. Assemani edited from

a manuscript in the Vatican Library Syriac Acts of most of the martyrs who are the subject of cc. 1–7 and 10 in S.[1] Among them is the martyrdom of Procopius, in a form very similar to Valois' Latin. And for the rest, each has a relation to a passage of S, such as that of the Syriac to the Greek recension of the Acts of Procopius. Assemani expressed his conviction that his newly discovered Acts were fragments of a work written, not, like S, in Greek, but in Syriac.

The view, however, that Eusebius wrote the longer recension in the Syriac language was made untenable by a yet more remarkable and much more recent discovery. A number of Syriac manuscripts from the Nitrian desert was acquired by the British Museum about 1840.[2] One of them, dated 411 A.D., contains several treatises of Eusebius. In 1861 Dr. Cureton edited from it a tract which bears the title "On the Confessors in Palestine narrated by Eusebius of Cæsarea." It gives us the acts of nearly all the martyrs included in S, and in the same order, but usually at much greater length. In substance and language it is similar to Assemani's fragments, and refers to most of the incidents related in the Menæa and Menologies mentioned above, but absent from S. In short, it purports to represent, in its entirety, the longer recension, the existence of which Valois conjectured.

The title, in a manuscript penned scarcely seventy years after the death of Eusebius, is strong evidence that it came from the hand of Eusebius. And the statement of the title is confirmed by an examination of the text. We learn from it, in the first place, contrary to the assumption of Assemani, that Cureton's text (C), and therefore also Assemani's, are derived from a Greek original. Thus, the name Paësis is transformed in C into Plesius (p. 327), and Ædesius into Alosis (5. 2): in one case the Greek letter Λ, in the other Δ, is mistaken for Λ. And a long account in Greek of the martyrdom of Pamphilus and his companions, which some scholars had supposed to be an extract from Eusebius' *Life of Pamphilus*,[3] turns out to be in such close agreement with the narrative of the same martyrdom in C (c. 11) that we cannot refuse to admit that the latter was translated from a text almost identical with the former. A similar conclusion is reached when Greek Acts, unknown to Cureton, of Apphianus, Ædesius and Theodosia are placed beside the corresponding sections of C (4. 1–15; 5. 2, 3; 7. 1, 2). Now, as our textual notes show, C is very corrupt, by reason partly of deliberate manipu-

[1] S. E. Assemani, *Acta Mart. Orient. et Occident*, 1748, ii. 169–209.

[2] S. Lee, *Eusebius on the Theophaneia*, pp. viii–xii.

[3] That opinion need not be wholly rejected. Eusebius had a habit in his later writings of transcribing passages from those of earlier date.

lation, partly of scribal errors. Some of these belong to the Syriac: for example, "a deacon of God" for "a deacon of Ælia" (11. 4), "blood" for "tears" (9. 12), "Epiphanius" for "Apphianus" (c. 4), "separated man" for "sub-deacon" (3. 4). Others belong to the Greek from which it was translated: such as "again" (πάλιν) for "city" (πόλιν) (11. 1 l.), and probably "Timothy" for "Timolaus" (3. 4) and "Plesius" for "Paësis" (3. 4).[1] But it seems that the most serious distortions of the text in C—many of them designed—must be laid at the door of Syriac scribes or editors. However this may be, between the composition of the original work and the year 411 there was a considerable period of transmission both of the Greek and Syriac texts. In view of that fact, the original Greek cannot be placed much later than the middle of the fourth century; and it may well have been written within the life-time of Eusebius.

For our purpose it is important that a word should be said about the relation between the Syriac texts of Cureton (C) and Assemani (A). Cureton makes the astonishing remark that the differences between C and A can usually be explained as "separate translations"[2] of the Greek. The truth is that the verbal similarity of the two versions is such as to preclude the supposition of independent work; while, on the other hand, in many places they diverge one from the other so widely that, if they were translated directly from the Greek, the Greek text used by one translator must have been quite unlike that used by the other. There are sentences, for example, in A which have nothing corresponding to them in C, and a still larger number in C which are not in A. These facts can only be harmonized by the hypothesis that C and A are different recensions of a single translation, the text of which has been mangled by scribes in two lines of transmission.[3] Where we can place C and A beside the Greek fragments we find that A is nearer to them than C, and that C has many interpolations. But this comparison can only be made in the earlier chapters (4, 5, 7). In c. 11 C adheres pretty closely to the Greek, and displays a tendency rather to abridge than to interpolate.

In addition to the Latin Passion of Procopius mentioned

[1] Many other examples of erroneous readings might be mentioned.

[2] *Martyrs in Palestine*, pp. vi, 52.

[3] Cp. Violet, pp. 128–157. Violet supposes that A was the work of a reviser of C, who consulted the Greek. But his discussion is not convincing. His strongest argument (p. 135) is that A has corrected the "Alosis" of C, which must have stood in the original translation, into "Hedesius." The latter is certainly nearer to Ædesius. But the correction of the name of a prominent martyr does not necessarily involve inspection of the Greek. And is "Hedesius" a correct transliteration of *Αἰδέσιος*?

above we have Latin accounts of the martyrdoms of Apphianus, Ædesius and Pamphilus, first published by Lippomanus in his *Vitæ Sanctorum Priscorum Patrum*, 1551–1560, v. 559^{v}; vii. 44^{v}. These Acts correspond closely with Cureton's Syriac text, and no doubt they are translations of the original Greek.

The authorities, then, for the text of the Longer Recension of the *Martyrs* (L) are the following:

1. G. The Greek fragments as edited by Schwartz, under his text of S.
2. Lat. The Latin fragments, collected by Violet.
3. C. Cureton's Syriac text.
4. A. Assemani's Syriac text.
5. g. Notices in Menæa, etc., collected by Violet.
6. S. The Short Recension as edited by Schwartz.

Using these materials we have made an attempt to present in English the text of L. It is placed side by side with S, so that the student may with ease compare the two recensions. Accurate our translation cannot be, since the original Greek is forthcoming for only a little more than a third of the treatise. Where G is available we translate it as it stands, with occasional emendations from other authorities. Lat. is a valuable authority, inasmuch as it usually translates G with literal exactness. But we have it, where G is absent, only for the Acts of Procopius (1. 1, 2), and the fragment in which they appear is less trustworthy than its fellows. Fortunately, however, with it we can use C, A and g. We may therefore hope that our translation of that section is not seriously misleading. For another third of the treatise G, A and Lat. forsake us. All that can be done here is to translate C, profiting as far as possible by hints derived from g and S. For the remainder we have C and A. For reasons explained above, we usually follow A where it differs from C. From g, throughout the treatise, we can now and then recover the *ipsissima verba* of the Greek underlying C, A or Lat.: and possibly it may yield genuine passages not otherwise attested. But it must be used with caution. In particular it is hazardous to brand passages in C, A or Lat. as interpolations merely because they are not found in its scanty summaries. S is a valuable witness to the text of L. Wherever any of our direct authorities—G, C, A, Lat. or g—is in substantial agreement with S, we may assume that it gives us the genuine text; for borrowing from it by the scribes of L, Greek, Latin or Syriac, is highly improbable. When a passage in C, A or Lat. (in the absence of G) can be regarded as a rendering of a corresponding passage in S, we have thought it right to

translate directly from the latter. When C and A agree, we count them as a single authority. But when they disagree, and one of them is supported by any non-Syriac witness, we assume that it gives a substantially correct text.

In the textual notes under L we indicate only such variants as are of some importance. They are not to be regarded as a full apparatus criticus.

Two points remain to be noticed. The first is the mode of dating. In S dates are given in two forms, first by Macedonian month-names, and secondly in Roman fashion. On the other hand, C, A have a single method, using the Syriac names of the months. But since, wherever dates occur in G or Lat.,[1] they follow the system of S, we assume that the Syriac month-names are mere translations of the Macedonian, and that the Roman dates were omitted by the translator. Consequently we follow S throughout. Similarly C, A often give the Syriac names of places, while G, Lat., g, like S, have the Greek names. In such cases we print the Greek names in the translation, indicating the Syriac equivalents in the textual notes.

[1] 1. 2; 4. 15 (here Lat. has only the Roman date); 7. 1; 11. 7.

BOOK I

1.1,2 Eusebius begins by unfolding the plan of his work. He describes its contents under five heads: (i) The life of the Church in itself—(*a*) the successions from the apostles, with the chronology of the period since Christ, (*b*) the historical events, (*c*) the leading men; (ii) Heresies; (iii) The calamities of the Jews; (iv) The persecutions; (v) The persecution of his own day (cp. C. H. Turner in *J.T.S.*, i. 196 f.). The topics included under heads i–iv are dealt with *pari passu* in Books i–vii. Another element in the scheme is mentioned at iii. 3. 3: see note thereon.

1 *successions*] The successions of bishops in churches founded by apostles. Eusebius was not able to give a full account of these (§ 4); but he supplies lists of the four great sees of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem, with such chronological notes as were available. For the last of the four he had no record of dates (iv. 5. 1). The chronological framework of his *History* was the dates of the emperors and of the bishops, especially those of Rome. See Introd., p. 13.

leaders and presidents] These would include, not only eminent bishops, but other famous persons, such as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who were not bishops.

2 *the martyrdoms*, etc.] We learn from vii. 32. 32 and viii. Pref. that this subject was to be dealt with in a special section of the work, after the account of the "successions from the apostles" had been concluded. It may therefore be regarded as a sixth head of the scheme outlined here. Cp. Introd., p. 4.

3 *the first*] Eusebius did not recognize any previous writer as a Church historian. Cp. § 5. Some have thought that he overlooked Hegesippus. But Hegesippus was not an historian. See iv. 8. 1, note.

6 *Chronological Canons*] The *Chronicle* of Eusebius consists of two parts. The first, which is known in an Armenian version, is an exposition of the principles of the work. The second—the "Chronological Canons" referred to here—is a table of synchronisms of world history; in which, opposite the years to which they belong, are notes of historical events. These notes are what here and elsewhere (*Ecl. Proph.* i. 1) Eusebius calls the Epitome. The second part is extant both in the Armenian and in Jerome's Latin. The latter of these

is the more faithful rendering (Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 222 ff.; Turner in *J.T.S.* i. 184 ff.). The present passage shows that the *Chronicle* was written before the *History* was begun; and it is referred to in earlier works (*Ecl. Proph.* i. 1. 8; *Præp. Ev.* x. 9. 11). But Jerome tells us that it terminated with the Vicennalia of Constantine (325), several years after the completion of the first nine books of the *History* (see Introd. p. 3). It must therefore have been issued in more than one form. For further information see *D.C.B.* ii. 348.

The standard edition of the *Chronicle* is that of A. Schoene (1866, 1875). Dr. J. K. Fotheringham has given us a much-needed new edition (1923) of the Chronological Canons in St. Jerome's translation.

2. 11 *the power . . . of the Father*] Mr. C. Jenkins (*J.T.S.* x. 277) ingeniously conjectures that the true reading is τοῦ πατρὸς ὕπαρχον, meaning "a commander under the Father."

27 *special memoirs*] The *Eclogæ Propheticæ* (*Extracts from the Prophets*).

3. 7 *whom the prophets anointed*] 1 Sam. x. 1; xvi. 12 f.; 1 Kings i. 34, 39. But see 2 Kings ix. 6; xi. 12.

8 *some also of these same prophets*] Eusebius here seems to rely on tradition. There is no instance in the Old Testament of the anointing of a prophet. But see 1 Kings xix. 16.

4. 2 *a new nation*] In early Christian writings the Christians are often spoken of as a nation. *E.g.* 1 Pet. ii. 9; Just., *Dial.* 119: "After that Righteous One was slain we bloomed forth as another people. . . . This is that *nation* which God promised of old to Abraham." Cp. iv. 7. 10; ix. 9a. 1, 4; x. 4. 19. See Harnack, *Expansion*, i. 240–278.

5. 1 *enter upon our journey*, etc.] Cp. 1. 3.

2 *forty-second year*] Reckoning from the murder of Julius Cæsar, 15 March B.C. 44.

subjugation of Egypt, etc.] The battle of Actium was fought on 2 September B.C. 31, and Antony and Cleopatra died in August B.C. 30. The date of the Nativity here given is certainly incorrect; for Herod died in B.C. 4.

3 *enrolment under Quirinius*] In Acts v. 37 and in the passages quoted from Josephus (§§ 4–6), reference is made to a census taken by Quirinius in A.D. 6 or 7. Many writers (*e.g.* Schürer, i. 2. pp. 105–143) have identified this census with the enrolment of Luke ii.; and have consequently regarded the Nativity story of St. Luke as unhistorical. For a defence of the evangelist see Ramsay, *Was Christ born in Bethlehem?*; *Discov.* 222–300, and especially his article in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, vii. (1917) 273 ff. Eusebius betrays no consciousness of the chronological difficulty of the identification. In the *Chronicle* he puts the census under 43 Augustus, in the teeth of the statement of Josephus (*Ant.*

xviii. 1) that Quirinius went to Syria after the deposition of Archelaus, which he dates in 56 Augustus.

5. 3 *Flavius Josephus*] See iii. 9. 1, note.

6 *In his day*] *i.e.* in the procuratorship of Coponius, *c.* 6–9 A.D.

6. 2 *to the reign of Augustus*] The last native ruler—if Herod is to be accounted an alien—was Antigonus (B.C. 40–37). Herod was appointed King of Judæa in B.C. 40, and became actual ruler in B.C. 37, when Antigonus was put to death by Mark Antony.

Africanus] See vi. 31 and notes.

those who are accurately informed] The Desposyni. See 7. 11, which Eusebius here paraphrases.

3 *Hyrcanus*] See § 7, note.

6 *Pompey*] See *D.G.R.B.* iii. 476 ff.; and, for his doings in Palestine, B.C. 63–61, Schürer i. 1. pp. 317–325.

Aristobulus] Aristobulus II (B.C. 69–63). See Schürer, i. 1. 313 ff.

7 *Hyrcanus*] Hyrcanus II (B.C. 63–40), the predecessor of Antigonus. Schürer, i. 1. 371 ff.

10 *under his private seal*] An error. What Josephus says is that *by the Romans* the robe was kept under the seal of the priests and the treasurers.

11 *elsewhere*] In the *Ecl. Proph.* (see footnote). A discussion of the subject appears also in *Dem. Ev.* viii. 2; but that treatise seems to have been composed about 313 (*D.B.C.* ii. 329 f.), after the first edition of the *History* (Introd. p. 5).

7. 1 *letter . . . to Aristides*] Edited by Routh (*R.S.* ii. 228) and W. Reichardt (*T.U.* xxxiv. 3, 1909), who, besides the extracts in this chapter, print a fragment of the earlier part of the letter.

he himself had received] Eusebius clearly thought that Africanus was not the originator of the explanation of the genealogies which he gives. He probably understood Africanus to say that it came to him from the Desposyni (see § 14). There is ground to regard this opinion as correct. (1) The foundation of the argument is that Jacob and Heli were sons of the same mother: this could not have been inferred from the genealogies themselves, and the name of their mother (§ 8) must have been derived from another source. (2) The first two sentences of § 11 imply that what precedes it came from the Desposyni. (3) Plainly §§ 11–14 are an answer to the objection that the loss of records made the evidence of the Desposyni worthless. Cp. § 15, note.

5 *son of Melchi*] Africanus omits two generations: "son of Matthat, son of Levi." So also in § 10.

8 *Estha*] This name came to Africanus by tradition, obviously from the Desposyni (§ 11).

11 *this tradition also*] *i.e.* the following account as well as the foregoing.

7. 11 *Idumæan robbers*, etc.] These statements about the extraction of Antipater are in direct conflict with Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 1. 3; 7. 3: see above, 6. 2), a much better authority than Africanus. But Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 52) represents his Jewish opponent as evading the argument from Gen. xlix. 8–12 by saying that Herod was an Ashkelonite. The story therefore seems to have been of Jewish origin. This is in harmony with the fact that Africanus got it from the Desposyni. See further Schürer, i. 1, p. 314.

befriended by Hyrcanus] So Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1. 3.

12 Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II were the sons of Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 104–78). Alexander was succeeded by his widow. During her reign Hyrcanus was made High Priest. He was her legitimate successor; but after her death (69) he was driven out by Aristobulus. Antipater sided with Hyrcanus, and he was restored in 63. See 6. 6, 7, notes.

succeeded by . . . Herod] See Schürer, i. 1. 386, 393 ff.

13–15 There is no other authority for the statements here made.

13 *Giorœ*] A transliteration of the Hebrew *gēr*, a stranger. It is found in the Septuagint at Ex. xii. 19 and Isai. xiv. 1. Africanus supposes the *giorœ* to be identical with the "mixed multitude" of Ex. xii. 38. In later use *gēr* meant proselyte. See G. B. Gray on Isai. xiv. 1.

14 *Cochaba*] Probably Câcaba, about eight or ten miles north of Nazareth (Harnack, *Expansion*, ii. p. 102, note 3).

Book of the Days] Perhaps the books of Chronicles, the Hebrew title of which is *Words of Days*. 1 Chron. i–ix consists mainly of genealogies.

15 The meaning seems to be: Even though we reject the testimony of the Desposyni, and treat the explanation as a mere hypothesis, it is in itself reasonable and the best that can be suggested.

17 *the command*] The law referred to applies only to a woman who has an inheritance. Eusebius' inference is therefore unsound.

8. 4 *wife, children*] His second wife, Mariamme in B.C. 29; her two sons Alexander and Aristobulus in B.C. 7 (?); and, five days before his death, Antipater, son of Doris, his first wife, in B.C. 4.

10 *Lake Asphaltites*] The Dead Sea. Callirrhoe was near its eastern shore. See Smith, *Holy Land*, p. 571.

14 *And again*] See Introd. p. 23.

15 *the third*] See § 4, note.

9. 1 *Archelaus*] Herod died in B.C. 4. By his last will he nominated his son Archelaus king. Augustus confirmed this provision, but gave Archelaus the title of ethnarch instead of king. In A.D. 6 he was deposed and banished to Vienne. For the next 35 years his territory (Judæa and Samaria) was governed by procurators.

9. 1 *Philip*] Tetrarch of Trachonitis, etc. (B.C. 4–A.D. 34).

Herod the younger] Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa (B.C. 4–A.D. 39).

together with Lysanias] Lysanias was tetrarch of Abilene before 37 according to Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 6. 10 : see Schürer, i. 2. p. 336 f.), and in 28, according to St. Luke (iii. 1), if he reckons the fifteenth year of Tiberius from his appointment as co-regent with Augustus (A.D. 13). But there is no evidence that he was tetrarch in A.D. 6, as Eusebius here states.

2 *Tiberius*] Tiberius Claudius Nero Cæsar, made co-regent in A.D. 13. Augustus reigned for 57 years and 5 months, from 15 March B.C. 44 (5. 2, note) to his death, 19 August A.D. 14, when Tiberius became sole emperor.

death of Tiberius] What Josephus actually says is that Pilate after serving in Judæa for ten years was recalled, and that when he reached Rome Tiberius was dead. Since he died in 37, the appointment of Pilate must have been made in 26 or 27.

3 *Memoirs*] These "Memoirs of Pilate," no doubt, purported to contain the official account of Christ's trial before Pilate (ii. 2. 1). They certainly stated that He was a felon (*Acta Tarachi*, 9). And they seem also to have slandered John the Baptist (11. 9). The extant *Acta Pilati* (the *Gospel of Nicodemus*) is a different work. For the date of the forgery see ix. 5. 1, note.

10. 2–6 This attempt to show that the ministry of Christ continued for less than four years is poor criticism. (1) Luke iii. 1 does not say that the ministry began under Annas, and ended under Caiaphas. These two High Priests are regarded as holding office simultaneously (as Eusebius admits elsewhere : *Dem. Ev.* viii. 2. 100). (2) Josephus does not say, in the passage quoted (§ 4 f.), that Ishmael, the immediate successor of Annas, held office for one year only. (3) The sentence which immediately follows it in Josephus shows that the terms of office of the four successors of Annas covered a period of nearly eleven years. And (4) the clause omitted at the beginning of the quotation proves that Annas was deprived in the first or second year of Tiberius. Hence, according to the argument, the Crucifixion must be dated not later than A.D. 19, in manifest contradiction to 9. 4; 10. 1.

4 *Ananus*] *i.e.* Annas.

11. 1 *the younger Herod*] Antipas (9. 1, note).

on her account] An error. See § 6.

3 *was without a superior*, etc.] Josephus does not say so (§ 5).

Vienne] Lyons according to Jos., *Ant.* xviii. 7. 2; but, according to *B.J.* ii. 9. 6, Spain. For §§ 1–3 see Introd., pp. 20, 26.

7 *Now there lived*, etc.] This passage has been regarded by

the majority of scholars as a Christian interpolation in the *Antiquities*, or at least as altered from its original form by Christian scribes. But strong arguments have been urged by recent critics in favour of its genuineness. See F. C. Burkitt in *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1913, p. 135 ff.; Harnack in *Internat. Monatschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst u. Technik*, 1913, p. 1038 ff.; W. E. Barnes, *The Testimony of Josephus to Jesus Christ* (repr. from *Contemporary Review*). Harnack thinks that Tac., *Ann.* 15. 44 is based on it. On the other hand see H. St. J. Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus*, S.P.C.K., 1919, p. 182 ff. It is quoted by Eusebius in *Dem. Ev.* iii. 3. 105 f. and *Theoph.* v. 44, as well as in this place, and it is found in all MSS. of Josephus.

12. 1 *Barnabas*] He is said to have been one of the seventy in Clem., *Strom.* ii. 20. 116, as well as in the passage cited in the footnote. Cp. also *Clem. Hom.* i. 9.

13. 1 *when the divinity of our Lord . . . noised abroad*] This seems to be based on a part of the document containing the Thaddæus legend (§ 5 and notes), which Eusebius does not quote. Cp. *D. Addai*, p. 2 ff. Abgar had sent an embassy to Eleutheropolis. On the return journey, when nearing Jerusalem, the ambassadors "saw many men who came from afar to see Christ because the fame of his wonderful deeds had gone forth in distant lands." The ambassadors saw Christ at Jerusalem, and reported His deeds to Abgar; and he was astonished and said, "These powers belong not to men, but to God, for none but God alone can quicken the dead."

2 *Abgar*] See § 6, note.

3 *a personal letter*] Cp. § 5, "the letters." According to the Syriac (§ 5, note) Christ sent an oral message to Abgar, couched in the words of the letter in § 10, and the message was committed to writing by Ananias. It is possible that the Greek translation which lay before Eusebius said nothing to the contrary. The titles which he placed over §§ 6, 10 were no doubt his own composition. And Eusebius' remarks are not always in accord with the quotations which they introduce. See L. J. Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse et la Légende d'Abgar*, 1888, pp. 97–99.

4 *Thaddæus*] This name represents the Addai of the Syriac, whom Eusebius appears to identify with the Apostle Thaddæus (cp. 12. 3). But it is not clear that Thaddæus is the Greek equivalent of Addai. Professor Burkitt (*J.T.S.* xxv. 130) suggests the attractive hypothesis that Addai is none other than Tatian, the author of the *Diatessaron* (iv. 29. 6, note), which according to Syrian tradition was brought to Edessa by Addai (*D. Addai*. 34). Tatian went from Rome to Mesopotamia about the time when the Edessene church was founded (§ 5; iv. 28, notes).

13. 5 *ruled by kings*] The succession of kinglets of Edessa ended early in the third century.

the letters themselves] The document from which Eusebius quotes in the following sections is extant in the original Syriac, but disfigured by long interpolations of later date. It is known as *The Doctrine of Addai*. Part of it was published by Cureton in his *Ancient Syriac Documents* (1864), and the whole by G. Phillips in 1876. In its present form it probably dates from about 400. See *D.C.B.* iv. 878 ff. and the monograph of Tixeront mentioned in § 3, note. Eusebius does not quote the portion of it which lay before him in its entirety; and he betrays knowledge of several passages which he does not transcribe: see §§ 1, 20; ii. 1. 7, notes. The purpose of the tract is obviously to push back to apostolic times the foundation of the church of Edessa. Since Edessa seems to have been evangelized not earlier than the middle of the second century (Burkitt, *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, p. 12), it is clear that the narrative, in the form in which Eusebius knew it, cannot have been written before the third century, and probably not many years before 300.

taken by us from the archives, etc.] Eusebius does not say that he himself translated the document; it may be doubted whether he ever saw it, in spite of his statement that it was "taken by us." That, indeed, is the natural translation of ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν: cp. the note after the contents of Book ii. (vol. i, p. 33) "we have taken (συνῆκται ἡμῖν)." But here ἡμῖν may be rendered "for us." The document was perhaps translated for him by a friend at Edessa.

a courier] According to the Syriac Ananias was the keeper of the archives, who accompanied the ambassadors mentioned above. Etheria supports Eusebius, calling him *cursor* (*Pilg.*, Bernard 36, McClure and Feltoe 33).

6 *Abgar Uchama*] Abgar was the name of many kings of Edessa. Abgar V Uchama (the Black) reigned from 13 to 50.

by a word] The Greek (ὡς λόγος) is untranslatable. The translator has mistaken the Syriac letter which indicates the preposition "with" (*b*) for the very similar letter which in Hebrew and Aramaic—though apparently not in later Syriac—indicates the adverb "as" (*k*).

thou dost make, etc.] The Greek omits "the deaf to hear," after "the lepers." The passage is evidently founded on Luke vii. 21, 22. The reference to the preaching of the Gospel to the poor is omitted, as in the *Diatessaron* (Hill, p. 346), which the Syriac writer probably used. Cp. *D. Addai*, p. 34: "A great multitude assembled . . . for the reading of . . . the Diatessaron." For the *Diatessaron* see iv. 29. 6, note.

8 *will suffice us both*] After these words many authorities have the following section: "9. Thus did he write, after

that the divine brightness had for a little shone upon him. But it is meet also to listen to the brief but very weighty letter sent him by Jesus by the hand of the same letter-carrier. It runs as follows."

13, 10 *it is written*] The source of the quotation is unknown.

those with thee] The Syriac adds, "And thy fortress shall be blessed, and no enemy shall rule over it for ever." This is no doubt one of the many interpolations in *D. Addai*; but it is referred to as part of the letter in the fourth century (*Pilg. l.c.*).

11 *Judas, who was also called Thomas*] The words "who was also called" are not in the Syriac, and were probably inserted by the translator. Thomas is always called Judas Thomas—*i.e.* Judas the twin—in the Syriac *Acta Thomæ*: "Judas Thomas" is also found in the Curetonian version of John xiv. 22, where the Sinaitic version has simply "Thomas," and the Greek "Judas, not Iscariot" (Burkitt in *T.S.* vii. 2, p. 55).

the apostle] *i.e.* the apostle of Edessa: the founder of the church there.

20 *Now indeed I will keep silence*] *D. Addai* has "I will *not* keep silence." The meaning in Eusebius' recension is clear. Thaddæus will not preach till he can address the people as well as the king. The editor of *D. Addai* substitutes "not" for "now" in order to prepare the way for a long address to the court—obviously a late interpolation—which deals mainly with Queen Protonice and the finding of the Cross. His order is: 1. Abgar's offer of gold and silver (= § 21b); 2. The discourse about Protonice; 3. The command of Abgar to convene the citizens (= § 21a); 4. The sermon to the people; 5. A second offer of "great gifts" by Abgar for the newly founded church—which seems to be a duplicate of No. 1. Eusebius omits No. 4, and of course No. 2; and he gives the other incidents in the order 3, 1 (5). But his document must have had some account, however short, of the preaching (No. 4), no doubt immediately after No. 3. So the order of the document would be 3, 4, 1 (5), which is more natural than that of the Syriac. Thus we conclude that Eusebius omitted something in the middle of § 21. Cp. ii. 1. 7, note.

22 *three hundred and fortieth year*] *i.e.* of the Seleucid era (beginning B.C. 313–12) = A.D. 28–29. The Syriac (p. 1) gives A.D. 31–32 for the embassy which preceded the letter of § 6 (see § 1, note).

BOOK II.

1. 1 *first*] The recurrence of this word in the present chapter will be noticed. We are told of (§ 1) the first addition to the apostolic college, the first martyr, (§ 2) the first bishop of Jerusalem, (§ 8) the first persecution, (§ 10) the first evangelist of Samaria, and (§ 13) the first Gentile convert, and first preacher among the nations.

which name] Stephanos, *lit.* a wreath or crown.

2 *styled the son of Joseph*] The statement is obscure. But probably Eusebius means that James was actually the son of Joseph by a former wife. This seems to have been the opinion of Hegesippus (cp. Lightfoot, *Gal.* 276 f.).

3 *Clement*] See v. 11, 1, note.

selected James] For another tradition see 23. 4, note. Eusebius follows Clement in 23. 1; but elsewhere he combines the two views (vii. 19).

5 *beaten to death*] See Hegesippus in 23. 11–18, who is probably Clement's source.

beheaded] See Acts xii. 2.

6 *king of the Osrhoëni*] Abgar Uchama, King of Edessa in Osrhoëne. See i. 13.

7 *he made of them disciples*] This seems to be a summary of the passage omitted in i. 13. 21, which gave an account of the preaching of Thaddæus and its results. See *D. Addai*, pp. 17–31.

12 *to this day*] The Simonian heresy was not extinct in the early fourth century. Cp. 13. 6.

Peter unmasked] See 14. 6 f. Eusebius does not tell us what "the due penalty" was. For the two legends about Simon's death, one of which may be referred to here, see 15. 1, note.

13 *ruled over by a woman*] The Ethiopians were ruled by queens, or rather queen-mothers, many of whom were called Candace. This passage seems to be the only authority for the fact that the custom survived to the fourth century. See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 497.

2. 1 *Pilate communicated*] Eusebius is paraphrasing Tertullian (§ 6). But Tertullian does not here mention Pilate in this connexion (but see *Apol.* 21), and it is not clear that the report to which he refers as having reached the ear of Tiberius was a written document. If it were such it is improbable that he had seen it, for in the same context he cites a letter of Marcus Aurelius, of which apparently he had no first-hand knowledge

(v. 5. 6, note). Justin Martyr mentions *Acta Pilati*, which alluded to the miracles of Christ, but in such a way as to suggest that he had not read them (*Apol.* i. 35, 48; cp. 38). He does not say that they were sent to the emperor, though he perhaps implies it.

2. 2 *His other miraculous deeds*] Eusebius has in mind Tert., *Apol.* 21, where a fuller account is given of the facts supposed to have been communicated by Pilate. The Greek passage which actually lay before him (§ 6) does not warrant the present statement.

it is said] φασί. This word is very rarely used by Eusebius, as in this instance, of a document.

4 *Tertullian*] A native of Carthage, who was born, as Harnack thinks (*Chron.* ii. 295 f.), shortly before 155, and died shortly after 220: according to others (*e.g.* Fuller in *D.C.B.* iv. 818) both dates are too early. Accounts of him will be found in all histories of the early Church. Of this notable man Eusebius knew little; a fact which is the more remarkable as some of his treatises were written in Greek. In the present passage he makes no mention of his position in the Church, and implies that he was not an African, but a Roman, and apparently one who held high rank in the State (see next note). The only work of Tertullian with which he betrays acquaintance is the *Apologeticus*. He quotes five passages from it—four from chapter 5 (§§ 4–6; 25. 4; iii. 20. 7; v. 5. 7), and one from chapter 2 (iii. 33. 3). They are taken from a faulty Greek translation (§ 5 f.; 25. 4; iii. 33. 3, notes).

most distinguished] μάλιστα λαμπρῶν. This is probably the equivalent of *clarissimi* (λαμπρότατοι), indicating senatorial rank. See x. 5. 18, fifth note. Cp. the similar title in 4. 2.

translated] It is implied that the whole book was translated, and not by Eusebius. Harnack (*T.U.* viii. 4, p. 30 ff.) suggests that the translator, who displays historical knowledge (25. 4, note), was Africanus. But would he have done his work so badly? Rufinus, instead of re-translating the extract, gives us here the Latin original.

5 *Marcus*, etc.] Latin: "Scit Marcus Æmilius de deo suo Alburno. Facit et hoc." The translator seems to have read (or conjectured), "Sic M.A. de deo Alburno fecit. Et hoc . . . factum est." Elsewhere Tertullian says (*Marc.* i. 18) that Metellus thought to make a god of Alburnus. We may therefore conjecture that the attempt to deify Alburnus was made in B.C. 115, when Marcus Æmilius Scaurus and Marcus Cæcilius Metellus were consuls. But nothing is known of the incident.

6 *the name "Christian"*] Latin: "nomen Christianum."

Palestine] The Latin has "Syria Palestina." Harnack thinks that Africanus, a native of Palestine, deliberately omitted "Syria." In other respects this clause is dealt with very freely by the translator.

2. 6 *death*] Latin: "periculum," danger. But the translation is not incorrect: see vii. 11. 11; viii. 17. 8, where "peril" means peril of death. Similarly Pliny, *Ep.* 96, "vocantur in periculum."

4. 1 *Gaius*] Tiberius died 16 March, 37, after a reign of 22 years and 7 months, and was succeeded by Gaius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, commonly known by his nickname Caligula (a small military boot).

Agrippa] Herod Agrippa I (37–44).

Herod] Herod Antipas (B.C. 4–A.D. 39). See Schürer i. 2, pp. 17–38.

the Saviour's Passion] Luke xxiii. 6–12.

2 *Philo*] Little is known about the life of Philo the Jew. The one event of his career about which we have full information is the embassy to Rome, of which Eusebius speaks below (see 5. 1, third note). It took place in 40, when he was an old man. His birth therefore cannot be placed much later than B.C. 20. His *De Legatione* (5. 1, first note) was certainly written after the accession of Claudius (A.D. 41); and he probably died in his reign. He was a native of Alexandria, and of aristocratic rank, as we are here told (cp. 5. 4). Eusebius sums up the characteristics on which his fame rests. For his works, a large proportion of which is preserved, see c. 18. Edersheim's article on Philo in *D.C.B.* iv. 357 ff. is most valuable.

5. 1 *five books*] The things which are referred to in this paragraph, as recounted in a work of five books, are actually dealt with in a single extant tract of Philo which we know as the *De Legatione* (On the Embassy). They all took place in the reign of Gaius. But in 5. 6–6. 1 Eusebius is evidently giving a summary of the same work, which he there calls *The Embassy*. Among other events he mentions two of the reign of Tiberius, of which one is barely alluded to in the *De Legatione*, and the other not noticed in any of Philo's surviving treatises—the persecutions of the Jews by Sejanus and Pilate (5. 7, notes). But we have a writing of his, entitled *In Flaccum*, in which there is an account of the outrages of Flaccus, Prefect of Egypt, in the first year of Gaius. It begins with the words "Flaccus Avillius, as second after Sejanus, carried on in succession to him the plot against the Jews." Bearing in mind that our *In Flaccum* is only half as long as the *De Legatione*, we may therefore conclude that the *In Flaccum* is imperfect, and that the earlier lost chapters treated of Sejanus and probably his contemporary, Pilate. Thus *In Flaccum* and *De Legatione* represent two of the "five books" of what Eusebius names *The Embassy*. Now none of these titles appears in the list of Philo's works in c. 18. But we there find (18. 8) that he dealt with the same subject in a work called *On Virtues*. That is therefore probably an alternative title of *The Embassy*. And accordingly in 6. 3 Eusebius, apparently alluding to our *In*

Flaccum, states that the persecution of the Jews at Alexandria was related in the second book *On Virtues;* while in his *Chronicle* (p. 258) he tells us that the plots of Sejanus were recorded in the second book of *The Embassy*. Thus it would seem that the tract of which the extant *In Flaccum* is the second part was Book ii of the "five books." Again, the *De Legatione*, after relating "the cause of Gaius's hatred of the whole nation of the Jews," concludes, "We must now speak of the recantation"—that is, no doubt, an edict of Claudius putting an end to the persecution (cp. viii. 16 f.). A book on the Peace must have followed. The short piece—in length only a fifth of the *De Legatione*—known as *On the Contemplative Life* (17. 3) has in the Greek MSS. an additional title, *On Virtues* iv. It is apparently a mere scrap of a longer tract. It may well be a part of the book on the Peace. Hence it appears that the five books of the present section were a series known as *The Embassy* or *On Virtues*; and that the second, third and fourth books of the series were *In Flaccum*, *De Legatione*, and *De Vita Contemplativa*, the first and fifth being now lost, or disguised by having titles which do not indicate that they were parts of the series. Cp. Schürer, ii. 3, pp. 349–354; Index vol., 98—where a slightly different hypothesis is proposed. An objection to our conclusion must be mentioned. In 18. 7, 8 the tract *On the Contemplative Life* is mentioned apart from the work *On Virtues*. Eusebius appears to be ignorant of any connexion between them. How then did he know that there were five books in the series? The answer seems to be that the copy of *On Virtues* which he used was imperfect, including perhaps only books ii, iii. These might have been written in a single roll, or contained in a single roll-case, on which the title of the series was inscribed, with the additional information that the books were five in number. On the other hand the copy of *The Contemplative Life* may not have had the title *On Virtues* iv. In c. 18 tracts are on several occasions mentioned apart from the larger works to which they originally belonged (see, *e.g.*, 18. 5, note). It must be added that while five MSS. of the *De Legatione* entitle it *On Virtues*, three of them call it *On Virtues* i, and not as we might have expected *On Virtues* iii.

5. 1 *proclaimed himself as a god*] Cp. 6. 2.

the embassy] A severe persecution of the Jews in Alexandria took place in 38, while Avillius Flaccus was prefect of Egypt. In consequence, two embassies were sent in 40 to Gaius from Alexandria, that of the Jews being headed by Philo, and that of their opponents by Apion (§§ 2-4). For the result see § 5. A full account is given in Schürer i. 2, pp. 90–99.

2 *Josephus mentions these facts*] We expect here extracts from Philo, but instead Josephus is quoted. Indeed the sparseness of Eusebius' quotations from Philo throughout

the *History* is remarkable. With the exception of those in c. 17, which he regarded as of unique value, he transcribes only one short passage (6. 2). For an explanation of his scanty use of an authority so much to his purpose see c. 18, note, p. 69.

5. 3 *Apion*] An Egyptian grammarian, who lived at Alexandria. He taught also for a time at Rome, and later gave lectures on Homer in Greece. In his *Egyptian History* he attacked the Jews; and Josephus controverted his statements in the treatise *Contra Apionem* (iii. 9. 4, note). See Schürer, ii. 3, pp. 257–261; Lightfoot in *D.C.B.* i. 128–130.

4 *Alabarch*] Ἀλαβάρχης, by dissimilation from Ἀραβάρχης, "a commander of Arab troops," especially in Egypt; and then "a controller of customs." See Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon (New Edition, Part 2, 1926) *s.v.*

6 *Sejanus*] Prætorian Prefect under Tiberius, executed in 31. He is said to have induced Tiberius to banish the Jews from Rome in 19 (Schürer, ii. 2, p. 235 f.). His attempt to destroy the Jewish nation is alluded to in Philo, *Leg.* 159. But it is unlikely that Eusebius has that passage in view. He is probably summarizing Philo's full account of Sejanus's misdeeds in the early portion of *In Flaccum* (§ 1, note).

Pilate] The outrage here referred to is that recounted in 6. 4, though it had nothing to do with the temple. Eusebius paraphrases Philo, *Leg.* 299 (see 6. 4 note) and Jos. *B.J.* ii. 9, (169) in *Dem. Ev.* viii. 2. 122, 123 as witnesses to the same event; and in so doing he substitutes "the temple" for "Jerusalem" in Josephus, and for "Herod's palace in the holy city" in Philo.

6. 2 *Gaius the Younger*] Gaius Julius Cæsar being the elder deified emperor of the same name.

4 *images of Cæsar*] In a letter of Agrippa to Gaius (Philo, *Leg.* 299) it is incidentally stated that Pilate "dedicated some gilded shields in Herod's palace in the holy city." But Agrippa contradicts Josephus, for he says the shields bore no image, but merely an inscription.

5 *visited for the cry*] This implies that the images were brought into Jerusalem after the Crucifixion. But Josephus places the incident shortly after the appointment of Pilate as procurator, and therefore before it.

6 *Corban*] Cp. Mark vii. 11. An offering made to God and therefore inviolable. The word is applied to the temple treasure, as here, in Matt. xxvii. 6. The incident here recorded is apparently not referred to in the extant writings of Philo.

7. *his own murderer*] No known extant document of authority confirms the statement of Eusebius; but that he had some evidence for it cannot be disputed.

8. 1 *Claudius*] Tiberius Claudius Nero succeeded to the Empire on the assassination of Gaius (24 January, 41).

10. 2 *tome*] See vi. 24. 1, note.

3 *third year*] Reckoned from 41. He had been in name king of parts of Palestine since 37, but in 41 he was given the entire dominion of Herod the Great, and actually entered upon his kingdom. See § 9.

Strato's Tower] The new city was founded by Herod the Great, and was named after Cæsar Augustus. It is called Cæsarea Stratonis in *Clem. Hom.* 1. 15.

6 *he saw an angel*] The MSS. of Josephus have "he saw the owl sitting above his own head on a certain rope; which he immediately gathered to be an angel of evil, as it had once," etc. Eusebius has been accused of altering the text in order to bring it into agreement with Acts. But (1) there is no ground for supposing that the alleged fraud was committed by him rather than a previous scribe; and (2) that the change was fraudulently made is improbable. The word for "owl" is Latin (*bubo*); and the Greek word of similar sound means "groin." Thus the word in this context would be unintelligible to an ordinary Greek scribe. He would naturally omit it. The object of the verb would then be "an angel." But an angel "on a rope" would be at least suspect. If this phrase also were omitted and "an author" inserted (something had to be inserted) the Eusebian text would result.

had once been of good] The reference is to a story told in *Ant.* xviii. 6. 7. When Agrippa was a prisoner at Rome, he was one day under a tree on which an owl had perched. A German soldier, seeing him, predicted his future prosperity, adding that when he next saw the bird he should have but five days to live.

9 *seventh of his reign*] Reckoned from 37. See § 3, note.

three years, etc.] After his six months' imprisonment Tiberius died, and Gaius gave him the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias in 37. In 40 he was given the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas. In 41 Claudius added to his dominions Judæa and Samaria (Schürer i. 2, p. 153 f.).

10 *the king's name*] In Acts xii. 1, 19, 21 he is called Herod; Josephus calls him Agrippa.

11. 2 *Fadus*] Cuspius Fadus was the first of the succession of procurators who ruled Judæa after the death of Agrippa I. He was appointed in 44. The Theudas here mentioned therefore cannot be the Theudas of Acts v. 36, if St. Luke's narrative is historical. See Knowling's *Acts, ad loc.*

12. 1 *Thereupon*] *i.e.* on the appointment of Tiberius Alexander, the successor of Fadus. His term of office ended in 48.

Helena] The mother of Izates king of Adiabene (§ 3). She and her whole family had been converted to Judaism. Since, according to Josephus, the famine took place under the latter of the two procurators mentioned in the previous note, Helena's visit may be dated about 46.

12. 3 *point out*] Some scholars suppose that Helena was buried in the cemetery known as the Tombs of the Kings, about half a mile north of the Damascus gate of Jerusalem, close to St. George's College. But the evidence for this opinion is far from strong. See Schürer ii. 2, p. 311, and for descriptions and pictures of the tombs *Proc. of Soc. of Biblical Archæology*, xxxiii. 19 ff.

Ælia] Jerusalem. See iv. 6. 4.

Adiabene] Adiabene is on the left bank of the Tigris north and south of Nineveh.

13. 1 *the aforesaid Simon*] Here Eusebius (not Justin) identifies the heretic Simon with the Simon of Acts viii. 9 ff. But he was probably a different person. For information about him see *D.C.B.* iv. 681 ff., *E.R.E.* xi. 514 ff.

2 *Justin*] See iv. 8. 3, note.

3 *Gitta*] Kuryet Jît, about six miles west of Shechem (Nablus), the home of Justin.

a statue] A well-known mistake of Justin. In 1574 an altar was discovered in the Island of the Tiber (known as *inter duos pontes*) with an inscription beginning "Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio." Doubtless Justin saw a similar dedication on a statue in the Island, and misread it. Semo Sancus was a Sabine god, popularly identified with Dius Fidius (Hercules). See *E.R.E.* xi. 514; Merrill, p. 296.

4 *prostitute*] The quotation is continued in iii. 26. 3.

5 *Against the Heresies*] The full title of this work of Irenæus (v. 26, note) is "The Refutation and Overthrow of the Knowledge falsely so called." The entire work is extant in an early Latin translation. There is also an Armenian version of the last two of its five books; and many quotations of the original Greek are preserved in the writings of Hippolytus and later writers, especially Eusebius. For its date see v. 6. 4, note.

6 *even to the present*] Cp. 1. 11, 12.

7 *the written oracle*] This may have come, directly or indirectly, from the *Great Announcement*, a work attributed to Simon, which Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi. 11–20) mentions and quotes. In this and the preceding section Eusebius no longer follows Irenæus. What authority he used it is impossible to determine.

14. 5 *to the city of the Romans*] That Simon went to Rome is attested by Justin (13. 3) and Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi. 20). The Pseudo-Clementines state that being worsted in a debate with St. Peter at Cæsarea he fled (to Rome according to *Recog.* iii. 63), and that he was followed by the Apostle.

6 *Peter*] That Simon met St. Peter at Rome is stated by Hippolytus (*l.c.*).

15. 1 *simultaneously with the man himself*] This seems to imply that Simon died at the time of his encounter with St. Peter. Hippolytus (*l.c.*) tells us that, finding himself defeated in argument, he ordered his followers to bury him alive, avowing

that he would rise again on the third day. Another story appears in later writings, that in the presence of Peter he fell from a fiery chariot, and was killed on the spot, or was injured and subsequently committed suicide. The latter is the account of Eusebius' contemporary Arnobius (*adv. Nat.* ii. 12) —the earliest known authority for the legend.

15. 1 *besought . . . Mark*] Eusebius is here apparently dependent on Clement of Alexandria (vi. 14. 6).

2 *it is said*] φασί. An addition to the story, derived from common tradition.

has given the story] παρατέθειται τὴν ἱστορίαν. According to Schmiedel (*Encyc. Bib.* 1823) this means the *true* story, in contrast to the unhistorical tradition just mentioned. And certainly Clement (vi. 14. 7) directly contradicts the statement that Peter approved Mark's work and authorized it for reading in church; and he says nothing about its being made known to him *by the Spirit*. Nevertheless we cannot accept Schmiedel's interpretation. Cp. i. 12. 1, 2: "It is said (φασί) . . . and this the record (ἡ δ' ἱστορία) of Clement"; where the record confirms the tradition. We may suppose that in this place Eusebius trusted his memory of the passage which he paraphrases in vi. 14. 7, or that he had in view another passage in the *Hypotyposeis*.

corroborates his testimony] Papias (iii. 39. 15) confirms Clement inasmuch as he states that Mark was a follower of Peter, and recorded Peter's oral teaching in his Gospel. But in the fragment about St. Mark which Eusebius quotes he does not refer to the request of St. Peter's hearers, nor to St. Peter's knowledge that the Gospel had been written. Moreover Papias implies that Peter was dead when Mark wrote (iii. 39. 15, note on "having been").

that Peter mentions] Eusebius again reports popular tradition. He seems to doubt both the identity of the Mark of 1 Pet. with the evangelist, and that of "Babylon" with Rome.

16. 1 *it is said*] Again Eusebius refers to tradition. But in c. 24 he implies that St. Mark was the founder of the church of Alexandria, relying, as it seems, on a document; for he gives the date of the appointment of his successor.

2 *their occupations*] *i.e.* the occupations of the "multitude of believers." Eusebius refers to Philo's tract on the Therapeutæ, of which he gives an account in 17. 3 ff. But that the Therapeutæ were Christians is obviously an inference drawn by Eusebius himself from the similarity of the customs described by Philo with the practices of the Christian ascetics of his own day (see 17. 1, 2, 6, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21–23). Modern writers have suggested a different conclusion. Assuming that the tract deals with Christian institutions, they have held that it is a defence of monasticism, forged in the name of Philo by

a Christian writer of about A.D. 300. Such was the view of P. E. Lucius (*Die Therapeuten*, 1879); and it has been adopted by a majority of scholars. Some indeed have maintained that the tract was written by Philo, and that it describes the practices of Hebrew ascetics or contemplatives (*e.g.* Edersheim in *D.C.B.* iv. 368); but it was left to F. C. Conybeare (*Philo, About the Contemplative Life*, 1895) to vindicate, in the most convincing manner, the authenticity of the book. To his work (especially p. 258 ff.) the reader may be referred. For an argument which seems decisive against the late date ascribed to the tract by Lucius, see 17. 3, note.

17. 1 *also*] As well as Mark (16. 1).

conversed . . . with Peter] The phrase "it is recorded" implies documentary evidence for the meeting of Philo and Peter. But none is now forthcoming. And it is not probable that after his return from the embassy in 40 Philo again visited Rome. We may gather from his own words (e.g. *De specialibus legibus*, iii. 1–6) that nothing but compelling necessity would have induced him to undertake such a journey; and he seems to have been engaged in literary work, at least in the earlier years of Claudius. His *On Virtues* and perhaps other writings were composed in that period.

2 *of Hebrew race*] This is an obvious inference from the tract referred to. Eusebius, no doubt, mentions it in view of objections which might have been urged against his view concerning the Therapeutæ (16. 2, note), on the ground that some of their practices were Jewish.

3 *On the Contemplative Life or On the Suppliants*] The fourth tract *On Virtues* (5. 1, note). It is usually cited as *de Vita Contemplativa*. For the text of this treatise the witnesses are a number of Greek MSS., the fragments included in this chapter, and Armenian and Latin versions. Conybeare (pp. 1–21) seems to have shown that the Armenian and Eusebian texts are derived from an archetype considerably earlier than either of them, and that the Latin and Greek texts are derived from an ancient archetype independent of it. The original work must have been earlier than these exemplars. If his argument is sound the theory that it was written late in the third or early in the fourth century—quite apart from direct evidence of Philonean authorship—is put out of court.

reasons for such a title] The primary meaning of the word θεραπεύειν is "to do service." It is commonly used for service to a god (*i.e.* worship), or for the service of a physician to the sick (*i.e.* healing). Hence Philo's two explanations of the word "Therapeutæ."

4 *thus designated them*] This hypothesis is negatived by Philo's own words in the passage paraphrased in § 3.

7 *nomes*] The administrative districts into which Egypt—

apart from the cities of Alexandria and Ptolemais—was divided. See Mommsen, *Prov.* ii. 234–237.

17. 9 *churches throughout the land*] In the following extract Philo says nothing about churches—*i.e.* buildings for religious assemblies. He is still describing "their dwellings."

holy place] σεμνεῖον. A chapel for private prayer: the "inner chamber (ταμιεῖον)" of Matt. vi. 6.

monastery] μοναστήριον. Here used in its strict sense, a room intended for one person. In later Greek it means a hermit's cell, or, in its present sense, a building in which several monks reside together.

10 *diligent study*] ἄσκησις. The study of the Scriptures. "By ἄσκησις Philo means a diligent study of books" (Conybeare, p. v.).

11 *aim*] After the comment in § 12 the remainder of the sentence is quoted (§ 13).

16 *self-control*, etc.] Eusebius uses phrases from this extract in *M.P.* (L) 1. 1; 4. 3.

17 *it being their custom*] The quotation has been extended too far. This word begins a fresh clause: "it being their custom, as it is said the grasshoppers do, to feed on air, their song, I suppose, making the lack of food easy."

19 *there were women also*] What Philo actually says is, "And women also feast with them." He is describing an assembly at a common meal preceding "the greatest of the feasts," *i.e.* Pentecost.

20 *lower down*] The omitted passage continues the description of the meal. Towards the end of it we are told that when all have reclined, except those who are about to serve and are standing, the president (πρόεδρος) expounds the Scriptures. The following extract explains the method of the exposition.

this community] ἡ οἰκία αὕτη. The true reading is apparently ἡ οἰκεία (*sc.* ψυχή); which may be translated "the soul adapted to such things."

21 *their meetings together*] This refers to the gatherings on the Sabbath at the "common sanctuary."

the festival of the Saviour's Passion] Easter. See Eus., *V.C.* iii. 18: "One festival has our Saviour left us . . . that is, the [festival] of His most holy Passion," which the context shows to be Easter day. For other passages in which Easter is regarded as a commemoration of the Passion see F. E. Brightman in *J.T.S.* xxv. 267 f.

22 *the great festival*] Obviously referring to what Philo calls "the greatest festival": Pentecost. The observances mentioned in this section are connected with it by Philo. Eusebius (see § 21) supposes him to be describing the Christian customs connected with Easter.

these said days] No days have been mentioned; but Eusebius seems to refer to the days before Easter (§ 21).

Doubtless he had in mind words which he has not quoted (*D.V.C.* 73): "Wine is not brought in *on these days*." But "these days" are the season before Pentecost.

17. 22 *lie*] *i.e.* recline at the meal.

23 *leadership*] In connexion with the Pentecostal meal Philo mentions (1) a president, who expounds the Scriptures (75, 79); (2) presbyters, who were the first to take their places at the meal, and some of whom were quite young (67): (3) youths (*νέοι*) who served at the tables (77, 81); and also *ἐφημερευταί* who may have been identical with the presidents (66).

deacon . . . bishop] The word "deacon" seems to occur only once (75, meaning simply an attendant); "bishop" never.

18. The list of Philo's writings given in this chapter, in spite of its apparent confusion, is of high value. It seems to include nearly all his extant works—though in some instances not under the titles by which they are now known—together with some that are lost; and it mentions only two the authenticity of which is disputed by any large number of scholars (16. 2; 18. 7, notes). About one of these two Eusebius himself was in some doubt (§ 7). Where did Eusebius find this great collection? We at once think of the two libraries at Cæsarea and Jerusalem in which he gathered the material for his *History* (vi. 20. 1; 32. 3). And there is no difficulty in deciding which of them is more likely to have possessed the writings of Philo. In the Vienna MS. Theol. Gr. 29, after a list of some of them, we find the note, "Euzoius the bishop renewed them on skins" (L. Cohn, *Philo* i., pp. iii, xxxvi.). This Euzoius succeeded to the bishopric of Cæsarea *c.* 367. St. Jerome tells us that he was educated in early life in that city, and that during his episcopate he restored (*instaurare conatus*) the library of Origen and Pamphilus *on skins* (*V.I.* 113). Elsewhere (*Ep.* 34. 1) he states (according to the accepted text) that Acacius was Euzoius' predecessor in the work of copying the MSS. Acacius was a pupil of Eusebius, and succeeded him in the see (340–366). He was himself succeeded by Euzoius. Thus it appears that Origen's books were written on papyrus, that among them were at least some of Philo's works, and that the work of transcribing them on vellum was undertaken under the eyes of Eusebius, or shortly after his death. The damaged state of these precious papyrus manuscripts may well account for the fact that Eusebius gives us far fewer extracts from Philo than we might have expected (5. 2, note). It is worthy of attention that he is even more sparing of quotations from Origen's letters, which were apparently in a similar condition, though they were the authority for much that he tells of their writer (vi. 2. 1). It may be remarked further that Origen's letters in the library at Cæsarea seem to have been collected in rolls, the rolls being kept in cases, several in each

case (vi. 36. 3, note). Probably the Philonean papyri were preserved in the same way. In the present chapter the titles of the shorter tracts are arranged in groups; and each group may well represent the contents of a single roll, or a single case. The notes below will indicate confirmations of this hypothesis. On Philo's writings see Schürer ii. 3, pp. 321 ff.

18. 1 *exposition of the sacred books*] These were contained in two distinct works: the *Legum Allegoriæ*, an elaborate exposition of Genesis, and the *Quæstiones et Solutiones*, a briefer commentary on Genesis and Exodus, intended for less advanced readers.

Allegories] Of this work three books are printed in the edition of Mangey, covering Gen. ii. 1—iii. 19, with one long gap. But four tracts—*De Cherubim* (on Gen. iii. 24, iv. 1), *De Sacrificiis* (on Gen. iv. 2–4), *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* (on Gen. iv. 8–15) and *De Posteritate Caini* (on Gen. iv. 16–25)—probably belong to the same work, and are included here under the general title. Another tract, not belonging thereto, *De Opificio Mundi* (on Gen. i.) is quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* viii. 12, 13) as its first book. It must also be included.

Questions and Solutions] A considerable part of this work is preserved in an Armenian version, and there are other fragments. Eusebius had five books on Exodus (§ 5). How many he had on Genesis he does not say.

2 *As well as these*] Here begins a pair of groups enumerating thirteen tracts described as books on Genesis (§ 4). All but two of them, according to recent critics, belong to the *Legum Allegoriæ* (§ 1). But Eusebius is unconscious of any such connexion ("as well as these"). And they follow one another in a sequence obviously different from that which Philo intended; for he would doubtless have arranged them in the order of the passages on which they comment. For the actual order see notes below. Moreover two tracts are named which have nothing to do with that series (§ 2, No. 10; § 4, No. 13: see notes). Again, we note that two of them are not works on Genesis (§ 2, No. 10; § 4, No. 15: see notes). And finally, they do not include all such works, for in § 6 (No. 24) we find the *De Josepho*, which was of course founded on Genesis. These facts point to the hypothesis that in each of our two groups we have a list of the titles of tracts contained in a single roll, or more probably a single roll-case, labelled "On Genesis."

On Husbandry] *De agricultura* (on Gen. ix. 20).

On Drunkenness] *De ebrietate* (on Gen. ix. 21). The first book lost.

On what a Mind, etc.] *De sobrietate* (on Gen. ix. 24–27).

On the Confusion of Tongues] *De confusione linguarum* (on Gen. xi. 1–9).

On Flight and Discovery] *De profugis* (on Gen. xvi. 6–14).

18. 2 *On the Coming Together*, etc.] *De congressu* (on Gen. xvi. 1–6).

On Who is the Heir, etc.] *Quis rerum divinarum hæres sit* (on Gen. xv. 1–18).

On the Three Virtues, etc.] *De fortitudine* ; *De humanitate*; *De pœnitentia*. Part of the appendix to *De specialibus legibus* (§ 5, No. 19).

3 *In addition to these*] This phrase indicates that the tracts named in §§ 3, 4 constitute a group apart from those mentioned in § 2.

On those whose Names, etc.] *De mutatione nominum* (on Gen. xii. 1–22).

On Covenants] Lost.

4 *On Emigration*] *De migratione Abrahami* (on Gen. xii. 1–6).

the Life of a Wise Man who was perfected in Righteousness] *De Abrahamo*. Eusebius seems to have omitted the word "On" before "the Life" by accident. The printed text accordingly represents "the Life" etc. as part of the title of the foregoing tract. But there is no doubt that it is a separate work, which is still preserved. Eusebius makes another mistake when he writes "righteousness" (δικαιοσύνην) for "teaching" (διδασκαλίαν). This book is the first of a series with the general title of *Unwritten Laws*. The *De Abrahamo* contained lives of (1) Enos, Enoch and Noah, (2) Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; but the greater part of it has to do with Abraham, and the lives of Isaac and Jacob have disappeared. It was followed by a second book, *De Josepho*. See § 6, No. 24.

On Giants] *De gigantibus* and *Quod Deus est immutabilis* (on Gen. vi. 1–12). Eusebius writes "or" for "and."

On Dreams, etc.] *De somniis*. The two extant books (apparently the second and third) deal with dreams in Gen. xxviii; xxxi; xxxvii; xl; xli. The fourth and fifth books mentioned by Eusebius cannot have been confined to Genesis.

5 *on Exodus*] So far as we can estimate the size of the five tracts in this group, their total length would be about equal to that of the five in the preceding group (§§ 3, 4).

Questions and Solutions] See § 1.

On the Tabernacle] Probably part of the *Vita Mosis*, a book not mentioned elsewhere in this chapter. Possibly the title "On the Tabernacle" was in Eusebius' copy applied to the whole book.

On the Decalogue] *De decalogo*.

On the Special Laws, etc.] *De specialibus legibus*.

On the Animals, etc.] *De victimis*. Part of Book i of the foregoing.

On the Prizes, etc.] *De præmiis et pœnis* and *De exsecrationibus*.

6 *extant works*] It is difficult to explain why these tracts form

a group except in the supposition that they are the contents of a single roll. Their subjects are diverse, and they have nothing in common but their size.

18. 6 *On Providence*] *De providentia.* It is preserved in an Armenian version. It comprises *two* books, of which Eusebius knew only the second, quoted twice in his *Præp. Ev.* (vii. 21; viii. 14).

On the Jews] *Apologia pro Judæis.*

The Statesman] *De Josepho.* See § 4 (No. 13), note.

Alexander, etc.] *De Alexandro.* This Alexander was the Alabarch, Philo's brother (5. 4). The work is preserved in an Armenian version.

Besides these] The writings of this group were almost certainly written on a single roll: the phrases "followed by" and "after these" imply this of the first three. It was indeed natural that the second should immediately follow the first, for these were the two books of one work. See also § 7, note.

That every Wicked Man, etc.] Lost.

That every Honest Man, etc.] *Quod omnis probus liber sit.*

7 *On the Contemplative Life*] See 5. 1; 17. 3, notes.

The Interpretations, etc.] *Interpretatio Hebraicorum nominum.* Probably spurious. It is quoted by Origen (*Joh.* ii. 33: Brooke, i. 99), without mention of the name of the author. Eusebius here plainly indicates doubt of its Philonean origin. On the other hand Jerome states *on the authority of Origen* that it was written by Philo (Jer. *De nom. Hebr.*, Pref.). These facts are best explained by the supposition that there was a volume in the library at Cæsarea labelled "Philo," containing some treatises attributed to Philo in their titles, together with an anonymous tract on Hebrew names. Eusebius on examining the roll doubted whether this last was Philo's work; Jerome, seeing the same roll (or a copy of it: see note above, p. 69), and knowing that it belonged to Origen's library, jumped to the conclusion that the label was penned by his hand, and indicated that all the treatises in the volume had the same author.

8 *what he had written*] *i.e.*, as Eusebius says below, his work *On Virtues* (sec 5. 1, first note). But it is difficult to believe that the part of it which referred to Gaius was already written before Philo returned from Rome to Alexandria (cp. 4. 2, note), as the statement that he read it to the senate implies.

19. 1 *a faction*] About A.D. 50 under the Procurator Cumanus (48–52). Eusebius places it near the end of the reign of Claudius ("*still* reigning").

thirty thousand] Josephus in *Ant.* says twenty thousand, in *B.J.* over ten thousand—highly improbable numbers.

2 *Agrippa, the son of Agrippa*] Agrippa II, mentioned in Acts xxv. He was made king of Chalcis in 50, and in 53 king of northern Palestine. He died in 100 (Schürer i. 2, pp. 193–205).

19. 2 *Felix*] Procurator 52–60.

Nero] Nero Claudius came to the throne on the death of Claudius (13 October, 54).

20. 3 *the priests' due*] *i.e.* the dues of the priests who were not "high priests," the latter being apparently those who had been appointed to the high priesthood, all but one of whom, of course, had been deprived.

4 *robbers*] The Sicarii (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8. 10), so called from their small knives (*sicæ*). Cp. Acts xxi. 38.

6 *Jonathan*] Son of Annas (Luke iii. 2; John xviii. 13). He was appointed in 36, and, though he was soon deposed, continued to be a person of importance (Schürer ii. 1, pp. 199, 202).

21. 1 *the Egyptian false prophet*] See Acts xxi. 38.

thirty thousand] Four thousand according to Acts.

22. 1 *Festus*] Procurator 60–62.

2 *it is recorded*] Apparently the documents implied by this phrase are the Pastoral Epistles.

8 *of a milder disposition*] "The first five years of Nero's reign [54–59] became proverbial for good government—the *quinquennium Neronis*" (Bury, *R.E.*, p. 281). From 62 on his rule was a tyranny.

23. 1 *to whom the apostles had entrusted the throne*] So Clement (1. 3). For Hegesippus' view see § 4.

the throne] Eusebius several times (ii. 1. 2; 23. 1; iii. 5. 2; 11; 35; vii. 14; 19; 32. 29) mentions the "throne" of the bishops of Jerusalem. He rarely refers in the *History* to any other episcopal chair (iv. 23. 1; vi. 29. 4; vii. 30. 9).

2 *without government*] Festus was succeeded by Albinus, who was in office in the autumn of 62 (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9. 3, *B.J.* vi. 5. 3). Eusebius in the *Chronicle* (p. 264) dates the appointment of the latter in 6 Nero (61). Hence the date here given for the martyrdom of James is 62, in agreement with the position of the story in this book (see c. 24). It is obviously derived from Josephus (see § 21). Elsewhere (§ 19: iii. 11) Eusebius gives a later date, taken from Hegesippus (§ 18), unconscious, apparently, of the inconsistency.

3 *Clement*] of Alexandria, who probably depended on Hegesippus (see 1. 5).

Hegesippus] Here mentioned for the first time. Eusebius quotes or paraphrases many passages from his *Memoirs* in Books iii and iv, in some instances without indication of the source from which they came. Much use of the *Memoirs* was also made by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 27. 5, 6; 29. 4, 7; 30. 2; 78. 7, 8, 13, 14; *Mens.* 15), who seems to have had a better text than that of Eusebius. With two exceptions (iv. 8. 2: 22. 7) Eusebius's extracts are taken from the fifth and last *Memoir*. For proof of this and a reconstruction of such parts of

the work as remain, see *Euseb.*, pp. 1–107, and note, p. 90 below.

23. 3 *belonged to the first succession from the apostles*] This phrase (cp. iii. 37. 1, note) implies a *floruit* in the early years of the second century. See also iv. 8. 2. But as Hegesippus wrote his *Memoirs* in the time of Pope Eleutherus (*c.* 175–190 : see iv. 11. 7 ; 22. 3) this is hardly possible.

says as follows] Lightfoot (*Gal.* 330, 367) suggests that the following narrative is based on the *Ascents of James*, a lost work, mentioned in Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 16 and perhaps paraphrased in *Clem. Recog.* i. 70, 71. But this hypothesis seems questionable.

4 *succeeded*] Who was his predecessor? Not the apostles, "with" whom he exercised his episcopal functions, nor a bishop previously appointed, since according to all tradition he was the first bishop. The words used by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 78. 7) in a paraphrase of this passage—"to whom the Lord entrusted His throne on earth as first bishop"—are probably a clause omitted by Eusebius. If so, Hegesippus stated that James succeeded Christ Himself, and was ordained bishop by Him. Cp. Menology quoted in *Euseb.*, p. 44, note 3, and below vii. 19.

6 *holy place*] The true reading seems to be "Holy of holies" (Epiph. *Hær.* 29. 4 ; 78. 13). Epiphanius (*ib.* 29. 4 ; 78. 14) apparently has another genuine clause omitted by Eusebius : "he wore the sacerdotal plate (πέταλον) on his head" (see Ex. xxviii. 36). This implies that, as Epiphanius states (probably also from Hegesippus), "he took part in the priestly office." Cp. v. 24. 3.

linen garments] The priestly robes. See Lev. xvi. 4, etc.

7 *on account of*, etc.] The text seems to be corrupt. "Exceeding great piety" should be substituted for "exceeding great justice," and "and justice" in the next clause omitted ; and other changes may be suggested (see *Euseb.*, pp. 6–8).

Oblias] This word has not been satisfactorily explained. The interpretation "bulwark of the people" seems to presuppose *Obliam* (= עֹפֶל עָם) ; but this reading is not found in any MS., and Epiphanius omits "of the people" (*Hær.* 78. 7 ; cp. iii. 7. 8 below), which therefore is probably a gloss. The prophetic utterance referred to may be Isai. xxxiii. 15, 16 in the version of Symmachus : "Walking in righteousness . . . he shall tabernacle in the heights, as walls of stones shall be his high place." Is "Oblias" simply עפל, עפלי or עפליה with a Greek termination? Cp. Malachias = מלאכי.

15 *Let us take away*, etc.] A text sometimes quoted in early writers as applying to Christ. Justin Martyr quotes it three times, once according to the received text (*Dial.* 17), and twice (*ib.* 136, 137) with the same variant as here ("take away" for "bind").

17 *Rachabim*] This word (= Rechabites), which is trans-

literated from the Hebrew in the Septuagint of Jer. xxxv. 2, is taken as if it were a proper name in the singular. "Later Jewish tradition said that the Rechabites intermarried with the Levites and so entered the temple service" (*Encyc. Bib.*, 4020). This tradition may have been developed from the promise that they should "stand before" the Lord (Jer. xxxv. 19: see Binns, *in loc.*). Hegesippus was acquainted with Jewish traditions (iv. 22. 8). But Epiphanius (*Hær.* 78. 14), quoting this passage, puts the words here attributed to the Rechabite into the mouth of Symeon, the cousin of James.

23. 18 *Vespasian attacked them*] The verb (πολιορκεῖ) usually means "besiege." But Vespasian did not besiege Jerusalem, though Titus did so, acting as his representative. The word is used, however, also in the sense of "attack" (viii. 10. 12; x. 8. 8). If it is so to be understood here, the reference is to Vespasian's invasion of Palestine in 67. It follows that the date given by Hegesippus for the martyrdom is shortly before the beginning of Vespasian's Jewish war (67), or just before the investment of Jerusalem by Titus (70). Both dates conflict with that of Josephus which is followed by Eusebius in § 2. He follows Hegesippus in § 19; and there interprets his phrase as equivalent to the siege of Jerusalem (so also iii. 11. 1), thus placing the martyrdom at the Passover (§ 11) of 69.

19 *Clement*] See 1. 5 and note.

20 *in the following terms*] The passage is probably spurious, though it is quoted also by Origen (*Cels.* i. 47); for it is not found in any MS. of Josephus. Neither Origen nor Eusebius gives a reference to the place in Josephus' writings where it occurred, though both refer in the immediate context to passages in the Antiquities, mentioning the books from which they come. Since Origen quotes the present passage in the *oratio obliqua* it is unlikely that Eusebius derived it from him. The two writers may have used a common source—perhaps a collection of extracts.

21 *death of Festus*] 61 or 62. See § 2, note.

as we stated] in the passage immediately before this sentence, which Eusebius has omitted. This Ananus was a son of the Annas (Ananus) mentioned in the New Testament.

23 *the king*] Agrippa II.

25 See note, p. 103.

24. *Annianus*] Note the avoidance of the word "bishop." Cp. iii. 14.

after Mark] The death of Mark is here placed before the martyrdom of the Apostles, in v. 8. 3 (Irenæus) after it. Cp. Papias (iii. 39. 15: see note).

25. 2 *with mother*, etc.] Nero procured the assassination of his mother in 59; his divorced wife Octavia was put to death in 62—both murders being due to the influence of Poppæa, his second wife. His step-brother, Britannicus, had been

murdered early in 55; there is apparently no record of the murder—nor even of the existence—of any other brother of Nero.

25. 4 *Tertullian*] See 2. 4.

there you will find, etc.] The translator renders this sentence word for word, except that the phrase "Cæsariano gladio ferocisse" is represented by "to attack." Accordingly the clause "when it was just springing up in Rome" (cum maxime Romæ orientem) became "the East . . . but especially in Rome"! Out of this gibberish a sentence was evolved, by the simple expedient of inserting "after subduing all" and "he raged fiercely against all," in appropriate places. The statement which it makes is at least approximately accurate. The subjection of the East referred to is the victory over the Parthians, which may be dated in 64. In the summer of that year was the conflagration at Rome, which led to the persecution. Rufinus in this place copies the passage as it stands in Tertullian. Cp. 2. 4, note.

6 *Gaius*] See vi. 20. 3.

Proclus] The leader of a party of the Montanists, which maintained orthodox opinions concerning the Godhead, and was opposed by a Patri-passian party headed by Æschines: see Ps.-Tert. *Hær.* 7 (= Hippol. *Syntag.*); Hippol. *Ref.* viii. 19. Since the only writers before Eusebius who mention him are Gaius, Hippolytus and Tertullian, he was probably a Western. Tertullian (*Val.* 5) calls him "Proculus noster" and compares him with such anti-heretical writers as Justin and Irenæus.

the heresy of the Phrygians] Montanism.

7 *But I myself*] This seems to be the answer to the statement of Proclus quoted in part in iii. 31. 4. If Proclus can appeal to the authority of the daughters of Philip, and their predecessor, Gaius can point to Paul and Peter, the founders of the Roman Church.

Vatican] The text has "Vasican."

trophies] Memorials; not necessarily tombs.

8 *Dionysius*] See iv. 23.

to the Romans] The letter to Pope Soter (*c.* 166–174), from which other quotations are made, iv. 23. 10 f.

For indeed both, etc.] The only direct evidence that St. Peter visited Corinth. Cp. 1 Cor. i. 12. Here also we have the earliest evidence that St. Peter and St. Paul were martyred in Italy and at the same time.

26. 1 *Florus*] The last and worst of the Procurators of Judæa (64–66).

twelfth year] This would probably be, in the computation of Josephus, Oct. 65–Oct. 66. The immediate occasion of the revolution which inaugurated the war was an outrage of Florus, perpetrated on 16 May, 66 (Schürer i. 2, p. 208 ff.).

BOOK III.

1. 1 *Such, then,* etc.] A repetition of the last sentence of the previous book. A habit of Eusebius of which we have other examples in v. Pref.; vii. Pref.; viii. Pref.; x. 1. 1; *Præp. Ev.* iii. Pref.; ix. 1; xiv. 1.

2 *head-downwards*] The earliest mention of this tradition by a patristic writer. Origen may have taken it from the *Acts of Peter* (§ 37 f.; James, p. 334); see 3. 2, note.

3 *Commentaries on Genesis*] See vi. 24. 2. It is not quite clear where the quotation from Origen begins. But since the last clause of § 1 opens with a relative for which there is no antecedent, it probably begins at that point. The preceding clauses may be a paraphrase of an earlier part of the same passage of Origen.

under Nero] ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, which may mean "in the presence of Nero."

tome] See vi. 24. 1, note.

2. *Linus*] Here regarded as succeeding Peter and Paul. So v. 6. 1 (Iren.). According to 4. 8, and the *Chronicle* (p. 267) Linus' predecessor was Peter only: cp. v. 28. 3. Eusebius is probably right in identifying him with the Linus of 2 Tim. iv. 21.

3. 2 *his Acts*] A number of fragments published in 1891 (Lipsius-Bonnet, i. 1–103) give us a large part—probably almost two-thirds—of the text of these Acts of Peter. In the present passage they are for the first time mentioned by name. They may be read in the E.T. of Dr. M. R. James (pp. 300–336), who believes that they were written in Asia Minor, not later than A.D. 200.

Gospel named after him] See vi. 12. 2, note.

his Preaching] The Preaching (κήρυγμα) of Peter is perhaps identical with his Teaching (διδασκαλία), of which we have notices as late as the eighth century. In spite of Eusebius' statement in this sentence, it is often cited as genuine in the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria; but it is referred to as a forgery in Orig., *Princip.* i. Pref. 8, and apparently in *Joh.* xiii. 17. The latter of these passages of Origen proves that it was used by the Valentinian commentator Heracleon, *c.* 170. It is also quoted by the Apologist Aristides (see iv. 3. 3: cp. Harris and Robinson, *Apology of Aristides*, p. 86 ff.). Thus it is not later than about 140. If we could be sure that it was quoted by Ignatius (see 36. 11) it must be put back to *c.* 100.

From the allusions in Origen (*l.cc.*) and Clem., *Strom.* vi. 7. 58, it appears that it claimed not only to contain an account of Peter's teaching, but to have been written by him. See Zahn, *KG.* ii. 820 ff.; Harnack, *Chron.* i. 472 ff.; *D.C.B.* iv. 329 ff. The surviving fragments have been collected by Dobschütz in *T.U.* xi. 1, and by James (pp. 16–19).

3. 2 *The Apocalypse*] The same Akhmîm manuscript which gave us the conclusion of the Gospel of Peter (vi. 12. 2) gave us also a considerable portion of his Apocalypse, which had previously been known only by a few quotations in patristic writers. This fragment was first edited by Dr. M. R. James in 1892 (Robinson and James, *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter*). Since then much material has come to light, which makes it questionable whether the Akhmîm fragment belongs, in the strict sense, to the Apocalypse (vi. 12. 2, note), and at the same time enables us to gauge the character of the book as a whole. For the text, so far as it is now known, and the patristic references thereto, see James, pp. 505–524. The evidence for the date of the Apocalypse is somewhat ambiguous. But Clement of Alexandria commented on it (see vi. 14. 1) and quoted it several times in his *Eclogae* without any doubt as to its authorship, in one place describing it as "Scripture." It must therefore be dated not later than about 150. Harnack places it in the reign of Hadrian (*Chron.* i. 471). Eusebius is of course in error in saying that it was not used by catholic writers.

3 Here Eusebius announces an enlargement of the plan of his History (see i. 1. 1, 2, and cp. Introd. p. 13). It is important to understand exactly what he proposes to do. The greater number of the books of the New Testament were universally acknowledged; others were disputed (c. 25). "Of the antilegomena [disputed books] he pledges himself to record when any ancient writer *employs* any book belonging to their class; but as regards the undisputed canonical books he only professes to mention them, when such a writer has something to *tell about them*. Any *anecdote* of interest respecting them, as also respecting the others, will be recorded. But in their case he nowhere leads us to expect that he will allude to mere *quotations*, however numerous and however precise." (Lightfoot, *S.R.*, p. 38, "The silence of Eusebius." The whole essay should be read.) For examples of Eusebius' method, see his references to the ancient writers concerning the Gospels (iii. 39. 15, 16; v. 8. 2–4; 10. 3; vi. 14. 5–7; 25. 4–6, 9; 31. 3), the Pauline Epistles (vi. 25. 7), 1 Peter (vi. 25. 8) and 1 John (vi. 25. 10); and concerning such disputed books as Susanna (vi. 31. 1), Hebrews (vi. 14. 2–4; 20. 3; 25. 11–14), 2 Peter (vi. 25. 8), 2, 3 John (vi. 25. 10), Revelation (iii. 18. 2; iv. 18. 8; v. 8. 5, 6; vi. 25. 9; vii. 24, 25), Clement's Epistle (iii. 16). He calls attention to

quotations of Wisdom (v. 8. 8; 26; vi. 13. 6), Sirach (vi. 13. 6), Hebrews (iii. 38. 1; v. 26; vi. 13. 6), Jude (vi. 13. 6) and the remaining Catholic Epistles (vi. 14. 1), Revelation (v. 18. 14), the Gospel of the Hebrews (iv. 22. 8), Barnabas (vi. 13. 6; 14. 1), Clement (vi. 13. 6), the Shepherd (v. 8. 7), and the Apocalypse of Peter (vi. 14. 1), as well as of 1 Peter (iii. 39. 17; iv. 14. 9; v. 8. 7) and 1 John (iii. 39. 17; v. 8. 7). These last epistles are "acknowledged." Eusebius may have noted quotations from them because of their connexion with the disputed Catholic Epistles. Cp. note, p. 101 f.

3. 5 *Hebrews*] See note, p. 103.

his Acts] The book of the Acts of Paul has come to light within the last quarter of a century. It turns out that a large part of it was already in the hands of scholars. In 1897 Dr. Carl Schmidt found in a Heidelberg papyrus manuscript of date not later than the sixth century, which in fact is a heap of small fragments, a Coptic version of a treatise, the title of which is happily preserved in the subscription—πράξεις Παύλου κ[ατὰ] ἀπόστολον, *The Acts of Paul according to the Apostle*. The title therefore claims that it was St. Paul's autobiography. The fragments were pieced together with great skill by the discoverer and were published in facsimile in 1904 (*Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, ii). In the same year Schmidt published an edition of the work, with a translation and a valuable introduction (*Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift, Nr.* 1). Subsequently another fragment of the manuscript was found in the British Museum (*S.P.A.*, 1909, p. 216 ff.). The beginning of the Acts is lacking, and there are many lacunae in the text; but its general tenor is clear, and it contains as constituent parts three well known pieces, the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Lipsius-Bonnet, i. 235 ff.), the *Correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians* (Giles, *Codex Apocryphus N.T.*, ii. 509 f.: Latin version) and the *Martyrdom of Paul* (Lipsius-Bonnet, i. 104 ff.). The story as we now have it begins with St. Paul's first visit to Antioch of Pisidia. There is an excellent E.T. in James, pp. 270–299. The probable date may be inferred from the first notice of the book in literature. Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 17, as corrected by Souter: *J.T.S.* xxv. 292) writes (*c.* 197), "But if the writing falsely entitled Acts of Paul claims the example of Thecla as a defence for allowing women to teach and baptize, let them know that the Asian presbyter who composed that writing, as it were piling up a structure from his own material in the name of Paul, when he was convicted, and confessed that he wrote it for love of Paul, was deposed from his office." Tertullian is evidently speaking of a recent event. Even on the supposition that the work was current some time before the deposition of its author it can hardly be earlier than the second half of

the second century. Schmidt dates it roughly *c.* 180, which is perhaps too late. He proves that it was in high repute in early times, as an orthodox and even apostolic work (*Acta Pauli*, pp. 108 ff.). This conclusion agrees with the position which Eusebius gives it as the first of the second class of disputed books (25. 4). There seems to be no trace of heterodox teaching in the text.

3. 6 *The Shepherd*] The most important edition of the *Shepherd* of Hermas is that of Gebhardt and Harnack (1877). In Lightfoot-Harmer will be found a revised text, which takes account of more recently discovered material, and E.T. Dr. C. Taylor also published an E.T., with notes (S.P.C.K., 1903), the introduction to which summarizes his important work, *Hermas and the Gospels*. Up to the middle of the last century the *Shepherd* was known only in a Latin version. But then material began to accumulate which made possible a construction of the greater part of the original text. Dressel discovered in a Vatican MS. a second and better Latin version, which he edited in 1857; and in 1860 Antoine d'Abbadie edited an Ethiopic version, which he had discovered in 1847. More important than these was the purchase by the University of Leipzig in 1855 from a Greek named Simonides of three leaves of a Mount Athos MS. (cent. xiv), and what he falsely stated to be a transcript of the remaining leaves of the same MS.—comprising almost the entire work in Greek. The six remaining leaves of this manuscript were discovered by S. P. Lambros, and a collation of the whole was published in 1888 by him in conjunction with J. A. Robinson. Meanwhile in 1859 Tischendorf had made his great find of the Codex Sinaiticus (edited 1862). In it, as an appendix to the N.T., stood some extra-canonical books, of which there remain the Epistle of Barnabas and the first quarter of the *Shepherd*. Both MSS. have been edited in facsimile by K. Lake, the Athos MS. in 1907, and the Codex Sinaiticus in 1911. Other fragments of the text—Greek and Coptic—have been discovered in recent years (Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*, ii. 4 ff.).

The date of the *Shepherd* is difficult to fix. According to the testimony of the Liberian Catalogue and the Muratorian Canon—both of which are apparently from the pen of Hippolytus, and belong to the early part of the third century (Lightfoot, *Clem.* ii. 411 ff.; Salmon, *Introd.* 52 f.; *D.C.B.* iii. 913; and above p. 41 f.)—Hermas wrote under the episcopate of his brother Pope Pius (*c.* 140–155). On the other hand the writer of the book names Clement, probably the Roman bishop of that name (*c.* 88–97), as his contemporary. Relying mainly on the latter evidence Salmon (*Introd.* 579 ff.), following Zahn (*Der Hirt des Hermas*, p. 14 f.), places the work at the very beginning of the second century; while most critics, preferring the statement of the Muratorian Fragment, date it

about the middle of the century (*e.g.* Lightfoot-Harmer, p. 294). Harnack (*Chron.* i. 257 ff.) suggests that the book was gradually evolved during a long series of years, and that the complete work was issued about 140, while its earliest portion, containing the reference to Clement, was written under Trajan. Duchesne adopts this hypothesis in essentials (i. 165). But Bardenhewer (i. 480, note) adduces formidable reasons for rejecting it. That the writer was the Hermas of Rom. xvi. 14 is in any case improbable, and seems to rest on a mere conjecture of Origen (*In Rom.* x. 31). Hermas seems to have been a native of Arcadia (R. Harris, *Hermas in Arcadia;* Lambros-Robinson, *l.c.*, p. 30 ff.; J. A. Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache*, p. 27 f.). He tells us that he was sold as a slave to a lady at Rome, named Rhoda (*Shepherd*, Vis. i. 1). He represents himself at the time of writing as an elderly man, engaged in business, with a wife who had an unrestrained tongue, and unruly children (*ib.* Vis. i. 3; ii. 2; iii. 11).

3. 7 See note, p. 100.

4. 6 *Luke*] For the source of this statement see Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, E.T., p. 4.

all of whom . . . he had followed] The word πᾶσιν ("all things") in Luke. i. 3 is regarded as masc.; and apparently this interpretation is the basis of the statement in the previous clause as to St. Luke's "acquaintance with the rest of the apostles." Cp. 24. 15.

8 *the Gauls*] A (possibly correct) explanation of "Galatia" in 2. Tim. iv. 10. See Lightfoot, *Gal.*, p. 31.

after Peter] Cp. c. 2, note.

9 See c. 15.

5. 1 *to Rome*] There are several mistakes in this section. After the suicide of Nero (9 June, 68), who had reigned 13 years and 8 months, Galba reigned till 15 Jan., 69, and was followed by Otho, who committed suicide three months later (17 Apr.). Thus the reigns of Galba and Otho comprised only 10 months. Eusebius' "year and six months" include the reign of the next claimant to the throne, Vitellius (slain 20 or 21 December, 69), whom he does not mention. Moreover Vespasian was proclaimed, not, as Eusebius implies, in December, but in July 69. Eusebius clearly accepts the statement of Josephus that he was first proclaimed at Cæsarea (*B.J.* iv. 10. 4, 6); but Tac., *Hist.* ii. 79 and Sueton., *Vesp.* 6 are agreed that he was proclaimed at Alexandria on 1 July, 69, and some days later (3 or 11 July) at Cæsarea. Finally, Vespasian did not immediately proceed to Rome (as a careless reader might infer from Jos., *B.J.* iv. 10. 6; 11. 1: but see 11. 5); he first went to Alexandria and remained there for about a year (Schürer i. 2, p. 234).

2 *mentioned above*] The reference is of course to the long

quotation in ii. 23. 4 ff. The italicized words in the preceding clause are found in Epiphanius' paraphrase (*Hær.* 78. 7) of the same passage. It may be inferred that Eusebius has omitted a few words at the beginning of it. See 23, 4, note. The remainder of §§ 2, 3, giving an account of the departure of the apostles from Judæa and the migration of the Christians at Jerusalem to Pella, immediately before the siege of the city, seems to be based on a passage of Hegesippus which followed his narrative of the martyrdom of James (ii. 23. 18). The story of the flight to Pella is told by Epiphanius in three passages (*Hær.* 29. 7; 30. 2; *Mens.* 15. 2–5), evidently derived from a common source, which was certainly not Eusebius, and which appears to have been a passage of the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus. That Eusebius here makes use of the same source is indicated by the phrases printed in italics, all of which recur in the passages of Epiphanius just mentioned. For a fuller discussion see *Euseb.*, pp. 27–34.

6. 1 *But as for the wealthy*] See Introd., p. 23.

11 *So, with the closing of the ways*] See Introd., p. 23.

19 *drachmas*] An Attic drachma was about four-fifths of a shilling; but in purchasing power was much greater.

21 *Bathezor*] Situation apparently unknown. The interpretation of the name indicates that the correct form is Bethezob.

7. 2 We have here a pretty full but somewhat inaccurate abstract of a passage of Josephus. The beginning of the abstract corresponds to the conclusion of the passage. Josephus states, and Eusebius implies, that the 1,100,000 perished in Jerusalem before it was captured. Eusebius says that they died by famine and the sword; Josephus tells us that many were victims of a pestilence. Josephus says that 97,000 prisoners were taken *in the whole course of the war:* Eusebius gives the number as 90,000, and applies it to such of those captured in Jerusalem as were under seventeen years of age and were sold into slavery.

3 *second year*] September 70.

8 *bulwark*] ἔρκος. Eusebius interprets the epithet recorded by Hegesippus (ii. 23. 7: there rendered περιοχή). Note that he does not say "a bulwark *of the people*."

8. 1 *these deceivers*] False prophets. See Introd., p. 23.

2 *Xanthicus*] The Macedonian name of a month corresponding to the Jewish Nisan (March-April).

4 *great depth*] Josephus adds "in a threshold which consisted of one stone throughout."

own accord] The omission that follows is not insignificant. See Introd., p. 22.

5 *Artemisius*] Corresponding to Ijar (April-May).

7 *that feast*] Tabernacles, 15 Tishri (September-October).

8. 9 *Roman governor*] Albinus, procurator 62-64. See ii. 23, 2, note.

Woe to Jerusalem] The story is unfinished. See Introd., p. 24.

10 *a certain oracle*] It is uncertain to what Old Testament passage Josephus referred. Schürer (ii. 2, p. 149) thinks that Tac., *Hist.* v. 13 and Sueton., *Vesp.* 4 allude to Josephus' statement. Cp. i. 11, 7, note.

9. 1 *Josephus*] Born about the end of A.D. 37. When he was about sixteen years of age, if we may believe his own statement (*Vita*, 2), he investigated the tenets of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, and then retired into the desert and there for three years was the disciple of a recluse named Banus. When he returned to Jerusalem he avowed himself a Pharisee. In 64 he made a journey to Rome, and by the influence of the Empress Poppæa secured the release of some of his relatives. When the Jewish war began in 66 he was appointed commander of the revolutionary forces in Galilee. In the following year he was taken prisoner at Jotapata by the Romans. He at once gained favour with Vespasian by his prediction that he would succeed to the Empire (8. 10), and was released in 69. During the remainder of the war he was in the entourage of Titus, and went with him to Rome, where he spent the rest of his life. At Rome he composed his literary works. He died early in the second century. For accounts of his life and writings see Edersheim in *D.C.B.* iii. 441 ff.; Schürer i. 1, pp. 77 ff.; H. St. J. Thackeray, *Selections from Josephus* (E.T.), S.P.C.K., 1919, 1–32. The first volume of an edition of Josephus' works with E.T., by Thackeray (*L.C.L.*), appeared in 1926.

2 *statue*] Not mentioned elsewhere.

3 *Jewish Antiquities*] Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία. This work, which gives an account of the History of Israel from the Creation to the beginning of the war (A.D. 66), was completed in 93–4 (*Ant.*, xx. 11. 3).

Roman War] In his earliest extant work: the *Wars of the Jews*. The first two books sketch the Jewish history from B.C. 168 to A.D. 66; the last five give a minute account of the events of the years 66–73. Josephus tells us (i. Pref. 1) that the work was originally written in Aramaic, and was subsequently translated into Greek. But there is reason to believe that the Greek, which alone survives, is rather a second edition, with large additions, than a mere translation of the Aramaic. This view accords with the statement of Eusebius. The Greek edition may be dated between 75 and 79 (Thackeray, *Sel.* p. 14).

4 *Antiquity of the Jews*] Περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος, generally known as *Contra Apionem*: a misleading title. "It is designed as a reply to criticisms on the *Antiquities*, and a

refutation of current attacks upon, and groundless prejudices against, the Jewish nation; it is, in short, an Apology for Judaism with a demonstration of the antiquity of the race" (Thackeray, p. 18). "This work is not solely, nor even in any part of it mainly, directed against the grammarian Apion" (Schürer, i. 1, p. 93). It was written after 93. For Apion see ii. 5, 3, note.

10. 1 *therefore*] Because none but prophets wrote the accounts of early history, as Josephus says in the preceding chapter.

two-and-twenty] Cp. vi. 25. 2, note.

3 *Artaxerxes*] This is the name given by the Septuagint to the Ahasuerus of Esther, usually identified with Xerxes I, King of Persia (B.C. 485–464). But he was the successor of Darius Hystaspes. Josephus has in mind Artaxerxes Longimanus, the successor of Xerxes.

thirteen books] The normal division assigns eight books to the prophets and eleven to the Hagiographa. Josephus transfers some of the books of the third class to the second, leaving, apparently, in the third class only Psalms, Song of Songs, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.

6 *Maccabaicum*] This work, known as 4 Maccabees, was certainly not written by Josephus. The Greek text may be read in Swete's edition of the Septuagint. For E.T. see C. W. Emmet, *Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, S.P.C.K., 1918, where the authorship is discussed.

7 *he mentions*] This is questionable.

8 *close of his Antiquities*] The following quotation is taken from Josephus' *Life*, which in nearly all MSS. immediately succeeds the *Antiquities*. It is in fact an appendix to that work, with which it is connected by the particle δέ in its first sentence. It is not in the proper sense a *Life*. It is a defence of Josephus against aspersions made upon his conduct during the war by Justus of Tiberias. Accordingly the greater part of it deals with the years 66, 67 when he was in command in Galilee. The opening and closing sections give a summary sketch of his earlier and later life. The book was written not earlier than 100, and therefore at least six years after the *Antiquities* (Schürer, i. 1. 90 ff.).

Justus of Tiberias] A writer of some note, whose *Chronicle of Jewish Kings* was known to Photius (cod. 33) and was used by Africanus. On him see Schürer i. 1, p. 65 ff.

9 *as you were for yours*] The point of the taunt is disclosed in the preceding context, where Josephus says that Justus had written his account of the war twenty years before, and had delayed its publication till all who could have refuted his false statements were dead.

16 *Agrippa*] Agrippa II, mentioned in Acts xxv. xxvi. He died in 100 (Phot. 33).

11, 12. All the statements in these two chapters are in the *oratio*

obliqua, and depend on "it is recorded" (λόγος κατέχει, implying a document), or on "Hegesippus relates." It is in fact probable that these two phrases are identical in meaning. If so, the whole passage is derived from the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus. This conclusion is confirmed by iv. 22. 4,—a direct quotation from Heg. on which parts of c. 11 are evidently based (note the coincidences of phrase, marked here by italics)—and by Epiph. *Hær.* 78. 7 (κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν κτλ.), which is founded on Heg. (ii. 23. 3, note), and recalls the last clause of c. 11. We observe also that c. 11 begins by adopting the Hegesippean date for the martyrdom of James the Just (ii. 23. 2, note).

11. *those apostles*, etc.] The gathering of the electors is not mentioned in iv. 22. 4. Note that there were three classes: the apostles, the (personal) disciples of the Lord, and the *desposyni*. The first, and perhaps the third, would come from all quarters, the second from Pella (5. 3). They did not include the whole body of the Church: believers of the second generation, with the possible exception of some kinsmen of the Lord, were excluded.

it is said] φασί. This word can scarcely refer to the document which lay before Eusebius. It is his regular word for oral tradition. It may therefore be assumed to represent a phrase of similar meaning in the document itself. Now Epiphanius in the corresponding passage states that certain facts—among them that "this Joseph is the brother of Clopas"—were vouched for by Jewish tradition (ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραδόσεως), of which he himself cannot have had direct knowledge; and Eusebius tells us (iv. 22. 8) that Hegesippus made use of Jewish tradition (ἐξ Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγράφου παραδόσεως). Hence we have confirmation of the hypothesis that the document came from the pen of Hegesippus. Further, Epiphanius, after saying that Joseph was the brother of Clopas, adds that the former "was the son of James who was called by surname the Panther, for both of them were begotten of him who was surnamed Panther." This must also have come from Hegesippus. No one who is aware of the foul tales which the Jews connected with Panther will be surprised that Eusebius omitted it.

for indeed] This clause is also absent from iv. 22. 4. It has a common source with a passage in Epiph., *Hær.* 78. 7. The italicized words are found in both.

12. *terrible persecution*] No other writer mentions this persecution. On it see Schürer i. 2. 279.

13. *ten years*] Vespasian died 23 June 79. Titus bore the same names as his father: Titus Flavianus Sabinus Vespasianus.

second year] The true date, assuming that Linus was bishop for twelve years, would rather be 76. See Introd., p. 44, col. 3. But probably this term of office, assigned alike to him

and his successor, is unhistorical, simply dividing the period between the death of St. Peter and St. Paul (assumed to be 64) and the accession of Clement (*c.* 15). Anencletus was known as Cletus in the West (*J.T.S.* xviii. 112 f.). In later times (first in the Liberian Catalogue, Introd. p. 43) Anencletus and Cletus were supposed to be different persons.

13. *Domitian*] Titus Flavius Domitianus; younger brother of Titus, who died 13 September 81.

15. *Clement*] The true date of Clement's episcopate may be *c.* 88–97. See Introd., p. 44. Lightfoot's dissertation, "Clement the Doctor" (*Clem.* i. 14–103), gathers together all that is known about him. Eusebius' identification of him with the Clement mentioned in Phil. iv. 3 is most improbable (Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 22; *Phil.*, 168 f.).

16. *a single acknowledged epistle*] Cp. 38. 1, 4. The date of the epistle is almost universally held to be 95 or 96, at the close of the reign of Domitian. For the arguments in favour of that date see Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 346 ff. Harnack (*Chron.* i. 255) puts it somewhat earlier. The name of the author nowhere appears in the Epistle itself, which, as Eusebius correctly states, is a letter from "the church of the Romans" as a body; and the earliest witnesses to its authorship—Hegesippus (iv. 22. 1), Dionysius of Corinth (iv. 23. 11) and Irenæus (v. 6. 3)—are not altogether satisfactory. The first undoubted ascription of it to Clement comes from Clement of Alexandria (Lightfoot, *l.c.*, 158 ff.). Nevertheless, that Clement of Rome was the author seems sufficiently well established (see Lightfoot, *l.c.*, 358 ff.). The first and the so-called second epistle of Clement were little known in the West from the sixth to the seventeenth century. They came into the hands of scholars for the first time when the fifth-century manuscript of the Greek Bible known as Codex Alexandrinus, now in the British Museum, reached England in 1628. In it a copy of the epistles, mutilated and in part illegible, follows the New Testament. On that manuscript was based the *editio princeps*, produced in 1633 by Patrick Young. During the following centuries many editions appeared (including one by Lightfoot in 1869) up to the last quarter of the nineteenth, when a new era in the study of the epistles began. In 1875 Philotheus Bryennius, Metropolitan of Serræ, edited a complete copy which he had found in a manuscript (dated 1056) in the Library of the Holy Sepulchre in the Fanar of Constantinople (see 25. 4, notes). This discovery was immediately followed by another. In 1876 the Cambridge University Library acquired an Edessene Syriac manuscript of the New Testament, dated 1170, in which the two epistles are included, as part of the Canon. Thus the way was prepared for the magnificent second edition of Lightfoot, which was published in 1890, after his death, as the first part of his *Apostolic*

Fathers. It is most unfortunate that Lightfoot did not live to make use of the fresh materials for fixing the text of the first epistle, which have come to light in recent years. These are: (1) An eleventh century manuscript discovered by Dom G. Morin at Namur, containing *inter alia* an ancient Latin version. It was edited by Morin in 1894, as vol. ii of *Anecdota Maredsolana*. On the very early date of the version see Sanday (*Guardian*, 28 Mar. 1894) and Harnack (*Th. Literaturzeit.* 17 Mar. 1894). (2) A fourth-century Akhmîm papyrus manuscript, now in Berlin, of a Coptic version (complete, save a lacuna of 5 leaves): edited by the discoverer, C. Schmidt, in 1908 (*T. U.* xxxii. 1). (3) A large number of papyrus fragments of another Coptic version, acquired by Spiegelberg for the Strassburg Library, of which an edition by F. Rösch appeared in 1910. The fragments cover cc. 1–26, § 2, and belong to the fifth century.

16. *for a long time back*] See iv. 23. 11.

the [emperor] of whom, etc.] Domitian (so Lightfoot contends, *Clem.* i. 165). But perhaps we should render "in the time of the [person]," and suppose that the reference is to Clement.

Hegesippus] Cp. iv. 22. 1.

17. *When Domitian*] This account of Domitian is apparently based on a lost passage of Hegesippus. See note, p. 90 ff.

towards many] The epitome mentioned in the note below, p. 90, has "the officials" (τοὺς ἐν τέλει), which is probably the phrase of Hegesippus. The whole passage is a not unfair description of the latter years of Domitian's reign. See Bury, *R. E.*, p. 389 f.

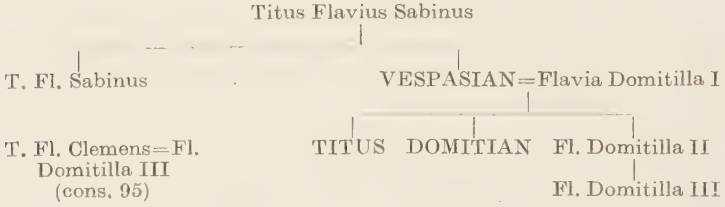
against us] A link with the remark of Hegesippus at the end of c. 12, the Christians ("us") being contrasted with the Jews. Note that, according to Heg., Vespasian's persecution of the Jews had the same origin as Domitian's persecution of the Christians (c. 19 f.).

18. 1 *it is recorded*] This seems to introduce another paraphrase of Heg. See note, p. 90 ff. If so, his *Memoirs* are the earliest known evidence that the Apocalypse was written by St. John the Apostle in the reign of Domitian. Probably, according to Heg., St. John was banished on account of his kinship with Christ. His mother, Salome, seems to have been a sister of the Virgin (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40: John xix. 25). Cp. c. 19.

3 *it was seen*] Or "he (*sc.* John) was seen." See Chase in *J.T.S.* viii. 431. The passage is quoted more fully in v. 8. 6.

in our own generation] In spite of Harnack's ingenious argument to the contrary (*Chron.* i. 330 f.), Zahn (*Forsch.* vi. 28 ff.) seems to be right when he makes the phrase to mean "in our life-time." In that case we have here an indication from Irenæus himself that he was born not long after 96. But the words "not long" are not to be pressed too closely.

18. 4 The following table will show the relationship of the three persons here mentioned to each other and to the Flavian Emperors :



The Flavia Domitilla of the text is the third of that name in the table—wife of Flavius Clemens and niece of Domitian. See note below. Sueton., *Dom.* 15, tells us that Flavius Clemens was put to death on a flimsy charge (apparently of treason) by Domitian. He makes no mention of Domitilla in this connexion. According to the Epitome of the *History* of the heathen writer Dion Cassius (lxvii. 14) both Clement and Domitilla were accused of sacrilege, the former being put to death, and the latter banished to Pandateria. These passages produce the suspicion that both Clement and Domitilla were Christians; and this suspicion is raised to a certainty, at least in the case of the latter, by the researches of De Rossi, who has shown that the cemetery of Domitilla at Rome was a Christian burying ground established by our Domitilla. What was Eusebius' authority for her exile? He implies here that he derived his knowledge of it from one or more non-Christian sources. But in his *Chronicle* (p. 274) he names as his principal or only authority a writer named Bruttius. Now Bruttius is mentioned three times by John Malalas (pp. 34, 193, 262, ed. Bonn) in terms which indicate that he was a Christian. It seems therefore that Eusebius was in error as to the religion of his informant. From this we may infer that he did not make first-hand use of his writings. He may have depended, as Lightfoot suggests, on extracts given by Africanus. Thus we can explain not only his mistaken notion that Bruttius was not a Christian, but also his failure to mention that Clement suffered with his wife for the faith, and his erroneous statement that Domitilla was Clement's niece. On the whole subject see Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 33–50; Ramsay, *R.E.*, pp. 259–274. Merrill (pp. 149–158, 164–171) challenges their conclusions.

persons just mentioned] *i.e.* apparently Clement, John, and perhaps Domitian.

even those writers, etc.] Eusebius forgets the authority for his statement, already given in the *Chronicle*, and speaks vaguely. Cp. ii. 8. 12, and see Introd. p. 15.

the daughter of a sister of Flavius Clemens] An error: see table above. It is accounted for by the very easy omission of an article in the immediate source, the words of which may have been transcribed by Eusebius in the *Chronicle*: ἐξαδέλφη Κλήμεντος for ἐξαδέλφη ἡ Κλήμεντος, *i.e.*, "niece [of Domitian] the [wife] of Clement" (Lightfoot, *l.c.*, p. 49).

18. 4 *one of the consuls*] Fl. Clemens was consul with Domitian in 95. Dion Cassius, in agreement with Eusebius, states that Clement was put to death and his wife banished "while he was consul": but Suetonius says that Clement was executed shortly after the close of his consulate. The contradiction is obviated by supposing that these events took place towards the end of his consular year, but after he had resigned the office to a consul suffectus (Lightfoot, *l.c.*, p. 34, n. 1).

Pontia] The largest of three islands, anciently known as the Pontiæ, outside the Gulf of Gaeta. Dion Cassius says that Domitilla was banished to Pandateria, about 25 miles to the S.E. of Pontia. Both islands were used as places of exile for distinguished persons in the first century. Eusebius is supported by Jer., *Ep.* cviii. 7, in which Paula is said to have seen in Pontia "the cells in which Domitilla passed her long martyrdom."

20. 1 *grandsons*] υἱωνοί. Other texts seem to have had the variant "sons" (υἱοί). See note, p. 90. That "grandsons" was in the text which Eusebius used is confirmed by the synonym in c. 19, "descendants" (ἀπόγονοι). The epitome of Cramer and de Boor (note, p. 91) tells us that the names of these men were Zocer and James.

they informed] From the paraphrase in c. 19 it appears that some words have been omitted here by Eusebius, and that for "they" the original had "certain of the heresies" (cp. 32. 2). The word translated "informed" is ἐδηλατόρευσαν, formed from the Latin *delator*, a professional informer. For the *delatores* and their importance in the later years of Domitian see Bury, *R.E.*, 195, 391.

the evocatus] The evocati were soldiers who had served their term, and were called upon again for military service. Here perhaps the reference is to the guardians of Domitian's bedchamber, "*the* evocatus" being the one who was on duty at the moment. Hegesippus seems to have supposed that the grandsons of Jude were brought to Rome.

2 *nine thousand denarii*] Equivalent to about £300 sterling. But the purchasing power would be much greater. See Matt. xx. 2.

thirty-nine plethra] Nine acres if Greek plethra are meant: 25 acres if Roman jugera (often translated πλέθρα) are meant.

5 *persecution against the church*] This, no doubt, means the church of Jerusalem (cp. iv. 22. 4), though Eusebius apparently did not so understand it (cp. 32. 7, 8, notes). There was

no general cessation of the persecution till the reign of Nerva.

20. 6 The passage paraphrased here is quoted in 32. 6.

7 *Tertullian*] See ii. 2. 4, notes. Rufinus re-translates the quotation. But he uses some phrases of the original, thus showing that he had Tertullian's Latin before him.

with a share of Nero's cruelty] Eusebius gives a literal translation of the Latin, "portio Neronis de crudelitate," which Souter renders "with a large share of Nero's cruelty." The point seems to be that Domitian was less cruel than Nero. Cp. Tert. *Pal.* 4, where Domitian is called *sub-Nero*.

intelligence] The Latin has "humanity" ("qua et homo").

recalled] This was done, not by Domitian, but by his successor Nerva. Tertullian may have relied on Hegesippus (§ 5). See Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 41, n. 3.

8 *Domitian*] Assassinated 18 Sept. 96.

9 *the record of our ancient men*] Apparently the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus. See note, p. 91, and cp. 18. 1, which was probably based on the immediately preceding passage in the *Memoirs*.

21. *little more than a year*] From 1 Oct. 96, when he was elected by the Senate, to his death, on 27 January 98. He adopted Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus, who became co-Emperor on 27 October 97. From that date Trajan dated the beginning of his reign.

Note on the Source of 17; 18.1; 20. 9.

It seems highly probable that these three passages are directly based on the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus. The argument in favour of this hypothesis may be stated as follows.

I. Four consecutive sentences which appear in two manuscripts, in each of which they form part of a series of excerpts from ancient writers, run parallel to *H.E.* iii. 17–20. 5. They have been edited in Cramer, *Anecd.*, ii. 88 from Paris MS. 1555 A, and in de Boor from Bodleian MS. Barocc. 142. We may indicate the Eusebian passage by the letter E and the four sentences just mentioned by the letter C. That there is a literary connexion between E and C is evident from the number of words common to both: no less than 31 of the 53 words in the first three sentences of C. But C is not a simple abridgement of E. For (1) the phraseology of C occasionally differs remarkably from that of E. Thus for E's "many" (c. 17) C has "the officials" (τοὺς ἐν τέλει), a substitution which a mere epitomist could hardly have made. (2) In the passage which E quotes textually from Heg. (20. 1) E speaks of the *grandsons* (υἱωνοί) of Jude, C of his *sons* (υἱοί). This points to the use of a different text of Heg.: and in fact there is evidence that "sons" stood in some copies of the *Memoirs* (*Euseb.*, p. 44, n. 3). (3) C makes no allusion to E's important

quotation from Iren., or to his statement about Flavia Domitilla (18. 2–4). Neither of these could have been passed over by an epitomist; and it will be observed that they are not borrowed from Heg. (4) The fourth sentence of C gives information not found in E, and professes to take it from Heg.: "And Hegesippus gives also their names (*sc.* of the sons of Jude), and says that they were called, the one Zocer and the other James." And finally (5) the word "also" (*καί*) in this sentence seems to intimate that the three preceding sentences were based on Heg. The obvious conclusion is that E (in 17; 18. 1; 19; 20. 1–6) and C were derived from a common source, the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus.

II. Omitting notes on the successions of emperors and bishops, cc. 11–20 may be divided into eleven sections, most of which refer to the authorities used:

1. (c. 11) Election of Symeon: λόγος κατέχει = Heg.
2. (c. 12) Vespasian's proceedings against the descendants of David: λόγος κατέχει = Heg.
3. (c. 16) Epistle of Clement: Heg. referred to for the Corinthian faction.
4. (c. 17) Domitian's cruelty: no authority given.
5. (18. 1) St John's banishment: κατέχει λόγος.
6. (18. 2 f.) Date of Apocalypse: Iren.
7. (18. 4) Flavia Domitilla: non-Christian writers.
8. (19; 20. 1–6) The grandsons of Jude: παλαιὸς κατέχει λόγος = Heg.
9. (20. 7) Domitian's reign: Tertullian.
10. (20. 8) Nerva's reversal of Domitian's policy: historical writers.
11. (20. 9) St. John's return: ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος.

We see that for four of these sections Heg. was used as an authority; while statements are introduced by the formula κατέχει λόγος (which implies a written source), or an equivalent, four or five times, in all but two of which the λόγος is certainly the *Memoirs*. It is natural to assume that throughout it indicates the same authoritative writing. Further, few will read together 18. 1 and 20. 9 without being convinced that they are based on a single document. That it is the same work as that from which Eusebius drew the information contained in the remaining paragraphs in which he uses the phrase κατέχει λόγος is not a rash reference. It is supported by the fact that elsewhere (32. 1, 2) he indicates Heg. by the same formula.

It is true, indeed, that Eusebius gives us no direct hint as to the source from which he borrowed the account of Domitian in c. 17. But it is closely connected with c. 12, which is avowedly a paraphrase of Heg. (see note on c. 17). And

Hegesippus was in the mind of Eusebius, if the *Memoirs* were not actually open before him, when he wrote c. 17, for they are referred to in the last line of c. 16.

A fuller discussion will be found in *Euseb.*, pp. 40–53, from which the last few sentences have been quoted with some abridgement. For another document used by Eusebius which may have been in the *Memoirs*, see note, p. 167.

22. *Euodius*] Nothing is known of him. His insignificance is a guarantee that Eusebius is right in regarding him as the predecessor of Ignatius. Origen (*Luc.*, vi) had already stated that Ignatius was the second bishop; but he did not give the name of the first.

Ignatius] See c. 36.

Symeon] See c. 11; iv. 22. 4.

23. 3 . . . *and all*, etc.] Irenæus, according to the Latin text, discussing the age of our Lord in His ministry, writes: "(A man from his fortieth and [?read 'to'] his fiftieth year is already declining towards old age; and when He had attained it our Lord taught, as the Gospel) and all the elders witness . . . [stating] that John delivered (this to them). For he abode," etc. Eusebius omits the earlier portion of the sentence from "A man" to "the Gospel" and the words "this to them," as unsuitable to his purpose; and thus makes the passage unintelligible.

5 *Who is the rich man*] See vi. 13. 3, note.

6 *a tale which is no mere tale . . . account*] μῦθον οὐ μῦθον . . . λόγον. These words seem to imply that Clement derived this story from a suspicious source, though he accepts it as true. Perhaps he quoted it from the *Acts of John* (see 25. 6). So Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 16; but see Salmon, *Introd.* 379. In fact the phrase "preserved in memory" suggests oral tradition.

the tyrant] This is almost certainly Domitian (cp. 20. 7–9), as Eusebius evidently supposed (§ 1).

7 *a certain city*] The *Chron. Pasch.* (*s.a.* 101) says that the city was Smyrna. It has been supposed that Clement withheld the name out of respect to Polycarp. But see § 13, note.

witnesses] lit. "witness." The word may apply to Christ only: but see § 12.

8 *presbyter*] By this word Clement designates the bishop (§§ 7, 12).

enlightened] *i.e.* baptized. See Just., *Apol.* i. 61 (p. 168, Otto) and cp. Heb. vi. 4. Baptism was often called the "seal" (see next sentence) in early times.

23. 13 *the old man*] Polycarp cannot have been an old man at the close of the first century (iv. 15. 20). If Smyrna was the scene of the incident (§ 7, note), the bishop must have been a predecessor of Polycarp.

14–16 The Apostle can hardly have been under eighty years of

age at this time (c. 100). The story would therefore seem to have been embellished at this point, and perhaps elsewhere (cp. § 6).

24. 1 *writings of this apostle*] The nominal subject of this chapter is the writings of St. John—the natural sequel to the preceding chapter (cp. c. 3, following on c. 1). But its discussion is interrupted by a digression (§§ 3–16) on the origin of the four Gospels and their relation to each other. The title of the chapter in the table of contents—"On the order of the Gospels"—applies to this digression: cp. the use of the same phrase in vi. 14. 5.

3–5a In this paragraph Eusebius expresses his own opinion, making no reference to any early source. He seems to have had in mind a passage of Origen (§ 4; see footnote); but he does not regard it as an authority.

5b–7 This paragraph justifies the previous statements on the ground of an early document ("it is recorded": § 5) and oral tradition ("it is said": § 7).

5 *discourses*] διατριβῶν. Another reading which has considerable support is "disciples" (μαθητῶν), which seems to give better sense.

it is recorded] κατέχει λόγος, implying written authority. The reference may be to Papias (39. 16).

7 *it is said*] φασί, repeated in next sentence. Here Eusebius relies on oral tradition.

8–10 Eusebius gives proof from the text of the Gospels that the tradition of § 7 was correct.

11 Continues the story handed down by tradition.

It is said] φασί.

12, 13 The conclusion to be drawn: there is no discordance between the synoptists and St. John; but St. John's Gospel is the greatest of the four.

15 *the other apostles*] See 4. 6, note.

17 *the former*] Cp. 25. 2; 39. 17. The phrase might seem to imply that Eusebius knew only two epistles of John. But see 25. 3.

18 *divided*] Cp. 25. 2, 4 and note p. 102.

will be likewise decided] The promise was apparently never fulfilled.

25. On this chapter see note, p. 100. It is the beginning of a digression, which ends with c. 31. See Introd., p. 18.

4 *Acts of Paul*] See 3. 5.

the Shepherd] See 3. 6.

Apocalypse of Peter] See 3. 2.

epistle of Barnabas] A short anonymous tract, characterized by strong anti-Judaism and by an extravagant use of the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament. The latter feature makes it at least probable that the writer was an Alexandrian. He was probably a Jew whose mind was stored

with rabbinic lore. But it is scarcely possible that he was Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul. Nevertheless Clement of Alexandria, who frequently quotes the epistle, attributes it to him. Its date has been a subject of controversy. It is generally allowed that it was composed between the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 and the founding of the city of Ælia (iv. 6) in 132; but there is no agreement as to its place within these limits. Thus Lightfoot inclined to the reign of Vespasian, 70–79 (*Clem.* ii. 505 ff.; Lightfoot-Harmer, p. 240 f.); Harnack assigns it to 130 or 131 (*Chron.* i. 423 ff.); Bardenhewer (i. 109–112) to *c.* 97. In the year 1643 Archbishop Ussher sent to the press an edition of the Greek text of the epistle and an ancient Latin version. Unhappily his work, with the exception of the earlier sheets, was destroyed by a fire at the Oxford University Press. The edition of Menard, which appeared in 1645, was the *editio princeps*. Both Ussher and Menard worked on an inferior MS. of the Greek, from which the earlier part of the epistle is absent, and the unique MS. of the Latin, now preserved (as we may hope) at Petrograd. It was not till Tischendorf discovered the Codex Sinaiticus (1859) that editors were able to use a good and complete copy of the Greek. A second complete copy was subsequently found in the MS. which contains the *Teaching of the Apostles* (see next note). The standard edition is that of Gebhardt and Harnack, 1878. The Greek text (with E.T.) may be read in Lightfoot-Harmer or K. Lake (*L.C.L.*), 1912.

25. 4 *the Teachings of the Apostles*] This is probably the tract known as *The Teaching* (sing.) *of the twelve Apostles*, of which the full title is *The Teaching of the Lord, through the twelve Apostles, to the Gentiles*. If so, it is mentioned here by name for the first time in extant literature. It was discovered by Bryennius in an eleventh century manuscript, the contents of which include the Epistle of Barnabas and the two Epistles of Clement of Rome (see previous note and c. 16, note), and was edited by him in 1883. For fragments of the text discovered in later years see *J.T.S.* xxv. 151, 225. The early chapters give moral instruction on the Two Ways—the way of life and the way of death—which appears in a similar form in the closing chapters of Barnabas. In the Teaching it is followed by instruction on Church Ordinances and a short eschatological passage. The problem of its date is even more difficult than that of the date of Barnabas. "It does not seem to fit in anywhere, in either time or place": and accordingly it has been assigned to many and various times and places. Dr. J. Armitage Robinson has inaugurated a new stage in the discussion by a course of lectures printed in a small volume under the title *Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache* (S.P.C.K., 1920). This is the sequel of an essay by the same writer in *J.T.S.* xiii (1912), 339, which is reprinted, as

an Appendix, in the volume just mentioned. His view is that the *Teaching* is an imaginative work which seeks to set forth the instruction which may have been given by the Apostles to Gentiles. He holds that it may have been written as late as the third century, and is of little value as an historical document. But, after a full discussion of Dr. Robinson's argument, Dr. Vernon Bartlet (*J.T.S.* xxii. 239) adheres to the date "before or about A.D. 100."—the lower limit which Lightfoot inclined to assign to the work. Harnack's edition (*T.U.* ii. 1, 2, 1884) is still the best. See also Lightfoot-Harmer, p. 213 ff. (Greek text and E.T.), and Bigg-Maclean, *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, S.P.C.K., 1922.

25. 5 *among these*] *i.e.* the disputed books. See next sentence.

some have reckoned] This may refer to earlier writers, for example Origen. In two extant passages he quotes the Gospel of the Hebrews (*Joh.* ii. 12; *Hom. in Jer.* xv. 4), and in each instance the quotation is introduced with some such phrase as "if one accepts the Gospel of the Hebrews." With similar phrases he introduces references to the Book of Enoch (*Joh.* vi. 25), the Epistle of Jude (*Matt.* xvii. 30), the Epistle to the Hebrews (*ib.* ser. 28) and the *Shepherd* of Hermas (*ib.* ser. 53; *Hom. in Num.* viii; *Hom. in Ps.* xxxvii. 1. 1). See Zahn, *K.G.* ii. 644 f.

the Gospel of the Hebrews] The remaining fragments of this lost Gospel have been edited in an English dress by E. B. Nicholson (*Gosp. according to the Hebrews*, 1879); but he unfortunately places among them some passages quoted by Epiphanius from an entirely different book, the "Gospel of the Twelve," which belonged to the Essene or Gnostic Ebionites (c. 27, note). The fragments are also collected in James, pp. 1–8. The Gospel of the Hebrews has been discussed at great length by Zahn (*K.G.* ii. 642–723), and more recently by Harnack (*Chron.* i. 625–651), who challenges several of his conclusions. St. Jerome tells us that a copy of it was preserved at Cæsarea, written in the Aramaic language with Hebrew letters, *i.e.* the square Hebrew character (*c. Pelag.* iii. 2). From this copy, which may have belonged to Origen, Eusebius doubtless derived the passage which he quotes from the Aramaic in *Theoph.* iv. 12. Jerome saw another copy with the Nazaræans at Syrian Beroea (Aleppo), from which (as he says) he translated it into Greek and Latin (*V.I.* 2, 3). Zahn infers somewhat rashly (p. 655) that no Greek version had been previously made. On the other hand, Harnack's view that it was translated as early as the first third of the second century rests on somewhat precarious grounds. The evidence of Hegesippus (see iv. 22. 8) proves that the Gospel of the Hebrews was in existence before 150. It seems impossible to date its composition more exactly; for Zahn's argument (p. 718 ff.) that it is later than the foundation of

Ælia (iv. 6) is not convincing, and the hypothesis of Harnack (p. 640) that it was in the hands of Ignatius, and was therefore written before 115, can hardly be accepted (see 36. 11, note). The fragments show that it resembles Matthew more than any of the canonical Gospels. Jerome regarded it as the original (or a source) of the Greek Matthew. But this is impossible. In 1897 a small scrap of papyrus, and another in 1903, each containing a number of sayings of our Lord, were discovered at Oxyrhynchus by Grenfell and Hunt. They seem to belong to the first half of the third century. In 1920 H. G. Evelyn White published an edition of the text, with many ingenious emendations, and an interesting introduction, in which cogent reasons are given for the belief that they are excerpts from the Gospel of the Hebrews. If this hypothesis is accepted—and Dr. James appears to think that a good case has been made out for it—we have in them a large and important accession to our knowledge of the book. E.T., James, pp. 26–28.

25. 6 *Peter*] See vi. 12. 2, note.

Thomas] The extant Gospel of Thomas (Lipsius-Bonnet, ii. 2, p. 99 ff.) is not the book referred to here, since it is not heretical; and a quotation from the heretical Gospel in Hippol. *Ref.* v. 7 is not found in any of its recensions. But the two are in some way connected with each other, for Irenæus (i. 13. 1) quotes from a Marcosian writing a passage which appears, with some modification, in all the extant texts of Thomas; and which, like them, dealt with the childhood of Christ. Dr. James is probably right when he describes the orthodox Gospel as expurgated, "the skeleton of the old one—the stories retained and the unorthodox discourses cut out." Since the original book was known to Irenæus, it must have been in existence before 180. See James, pp. 14–16, 49–70.

Matthias] Mentioned by Origen (*Luc.* i). Its contents are unknown; for Lipsius' and Zahn's identification of it with the *Traditions of Matthias*, quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 9. 45; vii. 13. 82. Cp. 29. 4, below), is doubtful. See *D.C.B.* ii. 716; Zahn, *K.G.* ii. 751 ff.; Harnack, *Chron.* i. 595 ff.; James, 12 f.

Acts of Andrew] Gregory of Tours wrote a summary of the Acts of Andrew which is still extant (*M.G.H.*, Greg. Turon., i. 821 846). He omits the last section, containing the martyrdom, the text of which is known from other sources. The summary is nothing more than a string of uninteresting miracles. It must have been even more tedious reading in its original form, before it was shorn of its "verbosity," judging from a passage still preserved in a Vatican MS. (James, p. 350 ff.). It belongs to the third century. We may suspect that Gregory omitted heretical passages, for there is little in the present text which could be branded as unorthodox, though, with the other Acts mentioned in the next note, it

was in high favour with the Manichæans. E.T., James, pp. 337–363.

Acts . . . of John] A Gnostic book, large portions of which have been recovered. Photius (114) ascribes it with other "circuits of the Apostles" (Peter, Andrew, Thomas and Paul) to one Leucius Charinus. His description of the volume which contained these Acts agrees so closely with the Acts of John that we may conclude that it was the only one of them which he had read. It is probable that this is also the only one which actually bore the name of Leucius. The heretical character of the book is manifest. Dr. James describes one passage (§§ 87–105) as "the best popular exposition we have of the Docetic view of our Lord's person"; and throughout (especially a fragment, the beginning of which is translated in James, p. 266) it proclaims Encratite teaching about marriage. It may be dated *c.* 150. The fragments are edited in Lipsius-Bonnet, ii. 1, pp. 151–216. For E.T. and further information see James, pp. xix f., 228–270.

26. 1 *was succeeded by Menander*] According to Eusebius (ii. 14. 6) Simon died in the reign of Claudius (41–54). Hence he must have placed the floruit of Menander in the second half of the first century.

devil's working] This seems to be founded on Justin: see § 3.

2 *and the baptism*] Irenæus (i. 17) says, "For [he says] that his disciples receive resurrection by baptism into him, and cannot die any more, but endure, not growing old, and immortal." That the reference to the resurrection (not mentioned here) was in Eusebius' copy of Irenæus appears from § 4. Irenæus seems to have written "into him" (εἰς αὐτόν), not, as Eusebius has it, "by him" (πρὸς αὐτοῦ).

3 *we know that he*] The immediately preceding context of Justin is quoted in ii. 13. 3, 4, and the following context in iv. 11. 9. The whole passage gives, as examples of teachers who were inspired by demons, Simon, Menander and Marcion.

follow him in asserting this] Justin wrote about 155, and Menander taught in the first century (§ 1, note). In the interval Menander and most of his followers had died. We can therefore account for the persistence of this belief to Justin's day only on the supposition that Menander's doctrine of the resurrection was not intended to be taken literally; or that after his day it was interpreted in a spiritual sense (*D.C.B.* iii. 902).

27. In this chapter Eusebius describes two classes—we have no ground for saying two sects—of Ebionites: one heterodox in doctrine (§ 2), the other comparatively orthodox (§§ 3–5). The name of "Ebionites"—"poor men" (*'ebiōnīm*)—was probably originally applied (perhaps by themselves) to the Hebrew Christians as a body (cp. Orig. *C'els.* ii. 1), and was

based on such sayings as Matt. v. 3. It actually appears, in extant literature, for the first time in Irenæus. Jerome speaks of the Ebionites as Nazaræans, but it is uncertain whether by this name he means the whole body described by Eusebius or some section of it. The Nazaræans, however, with whom he stayed at Aleppo (25. 5, note) seem to have been orthodox. Eusebius knew little about the Jewish Christians, and seems in the present chapter to rely on older authorities, chiefly, it seems, Origen. It will be noted that he uses the imperfect tense throughout (Zahn, *K.G.* ii. 664). The Ebionites here described must be distinguished from the Gnostic Judaizers of the third century, of whom Eusebius says nothing, apart from references to the Cerinthians (28. 2) and the Helkesaites (vi. 38). For further information see Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 194 ff.; Lightfoot, *Gal.* 311 ff.; Harnack, *History of Dogma* (E.T.), i. 287 ff.; W. Beveridge in *E.R.E.* v. 139 ff.

27. 1 *since they held*, etc.] This is scarcely consistent with § 6, which may have been taken from another source.

2 *ordinary person*] Cp. Just., *Dial.* 48: "There are some of our (*l.* your) race who confess that He is Christ, but declare that he was born from men"—which the context shows to mean that He did not pre-exist.

3 *the same name*] So Origen (*Cels.* v. 61) mentions "the two kinds of Ebionites" who differed from one another as to the Virgin Birth. In one place (*Luc.* xvii.) he seems to say that this doctrine was denied by all Ebionites.

4 *a renegade from the Law*] Cp. Orig., *Hom. in Jer.* xviii. 12: "The Ebionites smite the apostle (*i.e.* Paul) of Jesus Christ with disgraceful words."

the Gospel of the Hebrews] See 25. 5, note. In the passage of Irenæus which is here quoted, this gospel is called "the Gospel according to Matthew"—the title given to it by the Ebionites. Eusebius alters the phrase because (unlike St. Jerome and apparently Irenæus) he did not regard the Gospel of the Hebrews as the original Hebrew Gospel of Matthew (25. 1, 5; 39. 16, 17).

the rest] This implies at least some knowledge of the canonical Gospels.

28. 1 *the times of which we have been speaking*] The life-time of St. John (§ 6).

Cerinthus] Eusebius gives a very meagre account of Cerinthus. He mentions only his Chiliasm, which was evidently not his primary doctrine. Irenæus does not even refer to it (*Hær.* i. 21). Cerinthus was a Gnostic Ebionite. See Bethune-Baker, p. 65 f.

Gaius] On him see vi. 20. 3, notes. It is there shown that Eusebius probably knew only one of his writings, the Dialogue with the Montanist Proclus; but that he was the

author of another book in which he rejected the fourth Gospel.

28. 2 *Yea, Cerinthus*, etc.] This sentence may mean either (1) that Cerinthus wrote an apocalypse in his own name, posing as an apostle, or (2) that he was the true author of the canonical Apocalypse, ascribing it to St. John. In favour of the first interpretation it may be said that Gaius' description of the book does not suit the canonical Apocalypse. But we must take into consideration the following facts: 1. The second interpretation is the more natural of the two; 2. It would be little to the purpose of an anti-Montanist writer to vilify a book which the Montanists would not accept; 3. Gaius certainly did reject the Johannine Apocalypse and ascribed it to Cerinthus (vi. 20. 3, note); 4. The Montanists must have used it to establish their Chiliastic doctrine. 5. A controversialist would be likely to misrepresent a book which he was endeavouring to discredit. 6. Dionysius of Alexandria (see §§ 3–5 and next note), referring (as it seems) to this very passage, understands it to say that the canonical Apocalypse was a forgery of Cerinthus. 7. Hippolytus also stated that Gaius held that Cerinthus was the author of the book (vi. 20. 3). On the whole, therefore, the second interpretation is to be preferred. But it seems quite possible that Eusebius understood the passage according to the first interpretation. For he does not demur to Gaius' statement; and yet he did not regard the canonical Apocalypse as heretical (25. 2, 4).

3 *Dionysius*] See vi. 40. 1, note, and for his work *On Promises*, vii. 24, 25. The passage, a portion of which is quoted here, will be found in vii. 25. 1–5. See notes there. The present quotation begins in the middle of a sentence, and is therefore unintelligible.

6 *on the authority*, etc.] ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως. The phrase does not imply that Irenæus heard the story from Polycarp. In fact he did not: see iv. 14. 6.

29. 1 *Nicolaitans*] Of the Nicolaitans we know no more than can be inferred from Rev. ii. 6, 15. That they had any connexion with the Nicolaus of Acts vi. 5 is quite uncertain, though Irenæus (*Hær.* i. 23) and others assume that they took their name from him.

4 *Matthias also thus taught*] The source of the following saying is unknown. Cp. 25. 6, note.

30. 1 *Peter, indeed, and Philip*] Peter was a married man (Mark i. 30; 1 Cor. ix. 5), but the New Testament says nothing about his children, or about the wife of the Apostle Philip.

yoke-fellow] A misinterpretation of γνήσιε (not γνησία) σύνζυγε in Phil. iv. 3. See Ellicott *in loc.*

31. 2 *Polycrates*] For him, and the passage here quoted from his letter (§ 3 = v. 24. 2 f.), see v. 24. 1–8, notes.

31. 4 *Gaius*] See vi. 20. 3, note.

Proclus] See ii. 25. 6, note.

is in agreement, etc.] Plainly the two passages contradict one another if they refer to the same Philip.

But after him] The person referred to is the predecessor of the daughters of Philip in the Montanist line of prophets (v. 17. 3, 4). He may be Silas (*ib.*) or, as Zahn thinks (*Forsch.* vi. 168, n. 2, 207), the writer of the Apocalypse. For the point of the argument and Gaius' reply to it, cp. ii. 25. 7 and note.

daughters of Philip] *i.e.* of the evangelist. See note, p. 117.

5 Eusebius here confounds Philip the apostle with Philip the evangelist in spite of the fact that St. Luke marks the latter as not being one of the Twelve in the passage which he cites. Possibly he was misled by the mention of Hierapolis in connexion with both in his authorities (§§ 3, 4). See note, p. 116 ff.

6 A summary of cc. 23 or 24 to 31. See Introd., p. 18.

disputed . . . spurious] See following note, p. 101.

Note regarding Eusebius on the New Testament Books.

(c. 25; 31. 6, etc.)

In c. 25 Eusebius gives a catalogue of Christian writings which had some title or pretence to be called apostolic (cp. 31. 6). His purpose is obviously to enumerate the books which were included, or in the future might claim a place, in the New Testament Canon. He divides them into four classes. First are the "acknowledged books" (ὁμολογούμενα), already accounted canonical—the Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles, 1 Peter, 1 John, and (with a note of doubt) the Revelation of John; second, the "disputed books" (ἀντιλεγόμενα)—five of the seven Catholic Epistles, viz. James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John; third, "spurious books" (νόθα), which might also be described as "disputed"—Acts of Paul, the Shepherd, Revelation of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, Teachings of the Apostles, and (again with a note of doubt) Revelation of John; among which some placed the Gospel of the Hebrews; fourth, some heretical books.

We shall find some difficulties in this list. But before we touch on them let us note what is plain. The first group is clearly defined. The books which it contains are "acknowledged." And by this word is meant *universally* acknowledged; for in 3. 7 the writings belonging to Group I are called unquestionable (ἀναντίρρητα) in contrast to those of Group III, which are "not acknowledged *by all*." Moreover

acknowledgement is not only of the present but (especially) of the past. In 25. 6 Eusebius declares that the constituents of this class are writings which "the *tradition of the Church* has deemed true and genuine (ἄπλαστοι) and acknowledged"; and of one of these (1 John) we are told in 24. 17 that it "has been acknowledged both by the men of to-day and the ancients also." It is implied that the books placed in Group I are in the already accepted canon: they are contrasted (25. 6) with Groups II and III, of both of which it is stated that they are "disputed" and "not canonical (in the testament)."[1]

Again Group IV has a strict definition which parts it from Groups II, III. The books contained in it had been brought forward by heretics in the name of the apostles; no Church writer had so much as mentioned them; their style and doctrine were alike unapostolic. They were in fact heretical forgeries (25. 6, 7). From this description we may infer that Groups II and III were regarded by Eusebius as at least orthodox.

But when we seek to distinguish the characteristics of Groups II and III we get little help from him. He draws no clear line of demarcation between them. In 25. 3 he defines Group II as "disputed, nevertheless familiar (γνώριμοι) to the majority (τοῖς πολλοῖς)." But in almost identical terms he describes both groups (25. 6) as "disputed, yet recognized (γινωσκομένας) by most (πλείστοις) churchmen"; and similarly in 31. 6 as "disputed, yet publicly read by many in most churches." It is true that he stigmatizes the third group of writings as "spurious" (νόθοι), which seems to indicate that they were not written by the authors whose names they bore. But he draws attention to the uncertain authorship of two epistles in Group II (2, 3 John), leaving it an open question whether they were from the pen of John the evangelist or another John (25. 3). That the latter was the opinion to which he inclined can scarcely be doubted (cp. 39. 6). Moreover he denies the Petrine authorship of 2 Peter (3. 4). Group II, therefore, as well as Group III, contains writings which are at least under the suspicion of being spurious. All that can be said with certainty is that Eusebius deems Group III inferior in authority to Group II. On what principle this judgement is arrived at is not made clear.

But two facts may be noted. Group II consists of five Catholic Epistles; and the Catholic Epistles, seven in number, were in Eusebius's day a definite collection, in which James stood first (ii. 23. 24, 25: cp. Westcott, *Canon*, 432). In most churches the disputed Catholic Epistles were read with the rest. The whole series, written no doubt on a single roll, would naturally be treated as one. Since two of its members

[1] ἐνδιάθηκοι.

had all the criteria of canonical books, the defect in attestation of the remainder would not be too carefully scrutinized. The five would have priority over other weakly attested books if the limits of the canon were extended. A second fact proves that this was actually the case. In the great uncial manuscripts of the fourth century the books of Group II are incorporated in the canon. On the other hand in the Codex Sinaiticus (if not in the Codex Vaticanus, which is imperfect at the end), at least three books stood in a lower position after the Revelation. Of these two remain—and they are members of Group III—the Epistle of Barnabas and the *Shepherd*.

We may perhaps assume that by Eusebius, as in the general opinion of the East, Group II was held superior to Group III on the score of qualities which were not exactly of the same order as the criteria which distinguished Group I from Group II, and of which he had himself no clear conception. This assumption is strengthened by further study of Group I.

About the status of the Revelation Eusebius had not made up his mind. It may belong, according to him, either to Group I or to Group III. The reason which he gives for his doubt is that "some reject it" (25. 4: note the present tense, and cp. 24. 18). Now it is obvious that a book which "some rejected" could not without a straining of language be called "universally acknowledged." It could only be properly described as "disputed," though there might be uncertainty as to whether it belonged to Group II or Group III. In this instance by "acknowledged" Eusebius must mean "which ought to be acknowledged." Now, how did Eusebius' doubt arise? Clearly it was suggested by the work *On Promises* of Dionysius of Alexandria (vii. 24 f.), which made a great impression on him (39. 6 and note). Dionysius indeed avers that he did not "reject" the book, *i.e.* did not regard it as pseudonymous (vii. 25. 4); but his argument, that it was not written by St. John the apostle, had no point if it did not imply a certain disparagement of it. Others who followed his reasoning would go further than he did, and in some sort reject it. They would dub it "spurious." If they were right it should be placed in Group III. To which class it should ultimately be referred must be decided by an appeal to the "ancients" (24. 18). For Dionysius argued from internal evidence—a test not admissible, according to Eusebius, in discussing the merits of orthodox books; and mere rejection in the present by some persons does not disinherit a book of its canonicity. But at the moment apparently Eusebius knew not a single early writer who denied the apostolic origin of the Revelation (see 18. 1–3; 20. 9; 28. 2; iv. 18. 8; vi. 25. 9, and notes). Perhaps a fuller investigation of ancient treatises would reveal some-

thing that would confirm the internal evidence. So he leaves the question open for the present. Meanwhile, if the book is to be extruded from the Canon, he would place it among books which he foresaw would never be included therein. Here he is inconsistent; for 2 and 3 John, which he puts in Group II, had less ancient witness than the Revelation, and they shared its uncertainty of authorship His real motive must have been his low opinion of the book; it was specially favoured by the Chiliasts with whose doctrine he had no sympathy (39. 12 f.).

Again, among the "acknowledged" books are the Epistles of Paul (25. 2), that is, undoubtedly, the fourteen epistles of 3. 4 f., including the Epistle to the Hebrews. Nevertheless in that passage he tells us that "some have rejected" Hebrews, because the Romans disputed its Pauline authorship, and elsewhere (vi. 13. 6) he classes it with the disputed books. Why does he not deal with it in c. 25 as he deals with the Revelation, which was also rejected by some, though, like Hebrews, it was in the Canon? The reason is plain. His avowed criteria of canonicity are over-ridden by his own individual opinion based on other grounds. He is certain that Hebrews is Pauline. It was written by St. Paul in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by someone else (38. 2, 3). Of its authorship he is never in doubt (ii. 17, 12, and passages cited by Westcott, *Canon*, 431). On this point he does not bow even to the criticism of Origen (vi. 25. 13). Because the Romans based their rejection of the epistle on a false view of the authorship, their objection does not count, even though it had the approval of Gaius (vi. 20. 3).

It is perhaps worth while to observe that some of the obscurities and contradictions of Eusebius' statements regarding the classification of the books may be due to the fact that tables similar to his, but differing from it in details, were in existence before he wrote. That he had at least one such table in his hands seems to be proved by his statement that "some" put the Gospel of the Hebrews in Group III (25. 5). He does not formally include that book in his own classification. A similar inference might be drawn from his remark in the same place that Group III as well as Group II might be included among the disputed books. This implies a threefold classification, such as we find in 31. 6. There the third class is described as *νόθα*; the word being used in a sense different from that which it has in 25. 4, and applied to heretical books. That at least one of the lists before Eusebius differed from his, as to the groups to which certain writings should be referred, seems to be shown by ii. 23. 25. It is there said that the Epistle of James is reckoned as spurious (*νοθεύεται*), and Jude is apparently under the same condemnation. This is not his own opinion, for he

immediately remarks, " we know that they were publicly read in most churches." In other words Eusebius counted them as merely " disputed," as in 25. 3. In vi. 13. 6 the Epistle to the Hebrews and those of Clement, Barnabas and Jude are all said to be disputed. Eusebius probably has in mind a list which had only one class of disputed books, and included in it Hebrews, which he himself regarded as acknowledged (see above). Clement's Epistle does not appear in the table in c. 25. This may probably be due to oversight. It had as good a right as the *Shepherd* to a place in Group III, for according to Eusebius both books were written by companions of St. Paul and both were read in many churches (3. 6; 15; 16).

32. 1 *here and there*, etc.] It seems to be implied that this was stated by Hegesippus (§ 2). But it is possibly Eusebius' own generalization suggested by the narrative of Hegesippus which was before him. The statement is undoubtedly correct. Cp. c. 33.

2 *And the witness*, etc.] On this section see Introd., p. 26 f.

In telling of certain heretics] See iv. 22. 5, 6, which must, in the *Memoirs*, have preceded the passage quoted in § 3.

similar to that which the Lord suffered] Crucifixion. See § 6. This summary includes the passage quoted in § 6 as well as that in § 3.

3 *of the house of David*] Cp. cc. 12, 19.

consularis] ὑπατικοῦ, a provincial governor who had been consul (Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 59). He may have been Sextus Attius Suburanus, who was consul in 104 (Harnack, *Chron.* i. 129). He is called Atticus Surbanus in *AA. Ign. Rom.* 1 (Lightfoot, *Ign.* ii. 497). Thus the date of the martyrdom appears to be 105 or later.

6 The first part of this extract has been paraphrased in 20. 6. We have here therefore the immediate sequel of the passage quoted in 20. 1–5.

ruled every church] What exactly this means is not clear. But the statement is interesting as showing the high esteem in which the *desposyni* were held in Judæa (cp. iv. 22. 4), and as an early instance of the deference paid to " martyrs."

martyrs] *i.e.* confessors. See v. 2. 2, note.

on the same charge] ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ; on the charge preferred against the grandsons of Jude (20. 1) and perhaps St. John (18. 1).

a hundred and twenty years] Since the martyrdom took place under Trajan (97–117), if this statement is correct, Symeon must have been born at the latest about the date of our Lord's birth. But Eusebius probably supposed that he was crucified in or shortly before 101 (c. 34), and therefore that he was born *c.* 20 B.C.

32. 7 *the said persons*] Apparently Symeon and the descendants of Jude.

up to that time] Eusebius here refers to the passage quoted in iv. 22. 4–6, and his paraphrase will help us to restore the substance of one of the lacunæ therein.

the Church] The church of Jerusalem, as in 20. 5; iv. 22. 4.

8 Here the *oratio obliqua* of § 7 is dropped; and the style becomes more ornate. It is plainly Eusebius' comment on the statement of Hegesippus which he has just reproduced. He evidently assumes that "the church" of § 7 is the universal Church, and so connects the entrance into it of heresy with the death of the apostles. It is not improbable that Hegesippus in the context traced the growth of false teaching in Jerusalem to the "departure" of the apostles, and that Eusebius mistook his meaning.

33. 1 *Pliny*] Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, known as the Younger Pliny. He was the nephew and adopted son of Caius Plinius Secundus, the author of the *Natural History*. He was Pro-prætor of Bithynia in 112, and probably late in that year wrote the letter referred to below. See Lightfoot, *Ign.* ii. 536.

put to death] Tertullian, according to the translation which Eusebius used, has "driven out of office" (§ 3, see note).

3 *Tertullian*] See ii. 2. 4, notes. It is obvious that Eusebius knew nothing of the correspondence between Trajan and Pliny except what he learnt from the Greek version of Tertullian's Apology. Rufinus omits the extract from Tertullian. For the letters, and notes thereon, see Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 50–56.

and driven them out of office] καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐκβαλών. This is certainly a mistranslation of Tertullian's "quibusdam gradu pulsis," which indicates one of two classes of persons, only one of which was condemned (to death), and which the translator has confused. But the mistranslation seems to extend further. Mr. G. A. T. Davies (*J.T.S.* xiv. 407 ff.) holds that the correct rendering of the Latin is "'forced from their position,' *i.e.* constrained to recant." The two classes were thus those who confessed and were executed, and those who denied and were acquitted. Apparently the punishment of Christians by degradation does not appear before the persecution of Valerian (vii. 11. 1, note). There is at any rate no mention of it in Pliny's letter. Dr. Holmes (*A.N.L.* xi. 56) had anticipated Davies, rendering "and driven some from their stedfastness"; but almost all translators had rendered "degraded from their rank." The phrase does not occur in Pliny's letter (see Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 57 f.).

33. 3 *the tribe of Christians*] τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν φῦλον. Cp. Josephus in i. 11. 8. Tertullian has "hoc genus."

met with] Lat. "oblatos": "brought before him."

34. *third year*] The true date of Clement's death is probably a few years earlier. See Introd., p. 44, col. 3.

35. This is probably based on Heg. It would naturally have followed 32. 3; but in cc. 32, 33 Eusebius' subject was the persecution under Trajan (32. 1). He therefore defers mention of Justus to the next section of the book, which is concerned with the succession of bishops (cc. 34, 35). Note the phrase "who had then believed in Christ" (cp. 5. 3).

36. This chapter is of great importance as giving the clue to the solution of the problem of the Ignatian Epistles. In the East at least from the sixth century, more probably from the fourth, there was in circulation a series of twelve letters ascribed to Ignatius. In the later Middle Ages a Latin version of these letters was current in some parts of the West. The Latin was printed in 1498 and the Greek in 1557. This collection of letters is now known as the "Long Recension." In the Reformation period its witness to the episcopal form of Church government led to an embittered controversy, the upholders of episcopacy maintaining the genuineness of the letters and their opponents rejecting them as forgeries. Both parties were wrong. "To the critical genius of Ussher belongs the honour of restoring the true Ignatius." About the year 1626 (see *Ussher's Works*, ed. Elrington, vii. 105 f.; Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 76 ff., 243 ff.) he was struck by the fact that a passage in the letter to the Smyrnæans (§§ 4–7) was quoted by Robert Grossteste, Bishop of Lincoln (*c.* 1250), and two later English writers, in a form absolutely different from the Long Recension but in agreement with Theodoret's quotation of the same passage (*Dial.* 3 *Impatibiles*, iv. p. 231, ed. Schulze). He inferred that there must be somewhere in England copies of the Latin version which Grossteste used, and a search which he instituted was rewarded by the discovery of two MSS., one in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, the other in the Library of Richard Montague bishop of Norwich (1638–1641). The former of these still remains in Caius College; the latter has disappeared, but Ussher's collation of it is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. These MSS. contained the twelve accepted epistles; but the letters mentioned in the present chapter were in agreement with the quotations of the epistles in the Eastern writers up to the sixth century. Ussher suggested (rightly, as it seems: see Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 76 f.; Srawley, *Epistles of St. Ignatius*, 1910, p. 11) that the version which they represented was made by Grossteste himself. On the basis of them he constructed before 1642 a text of what he regarded as the *six* genuine letters of Ignatius, which was published in 1644. For by an unfortunate error

(see § 10, note) he was led to deny the authenticity of the seventh, that to Polycarp. Two years later (1646) Isaac Voss published the Greek text from a Medicæan MS. at Florence, of the existence of which Ussher was aware (*Works*, vii. 279), though he had not been able to obtain a copy of it. Voss's edition included the Epistle to Polycarp, but omitted the Epistle to the Romans, which was not in his MS. This defect was supplied by T. Ruinart, who in his *Acta Sincera* (1689) printed from a Colbertine MS. of the Greek Acts of the Martyrdom of Ignatius, in which the missing letter was imbedded. The Greek text, thus recovered by the labours of Ussher, Voss and Ruinart, is now known as the "Middle Recension." It differs from the Long Recension, not only as containing seven letters instead of twelve—the seven letters mentioned by Eusebius as the only letters of Ignatius known to him, and witnessed to by Polycarp (§§ 13, 15) a few weeks after they were written—but also as presenting the individual letters in a shorter form. Since Ussher's time important evidence for the text of the Middle Recension has come to light: an Armenian version, first published in 1783; fragments of a Syriac version, printed in Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum;* and a fragment of a Coptic version printed in Lightfoot's edition.

The "Short Recension" was a discovery of a much later time. Among the great collection of Syriac MSS. acquired by the British Museum in the first half of the nineteenth century Dr. William Cureton found three which presented a version of the epistles to Polycarp, to the Ephesians and to the Romans, in a form still shorter than that in which they appeared in the Middle Recension. He published this version in his *Antient Syriac Version of the Epistles of St. Ignatius* (1845), and in his *Corpus Ignatianum* (1849), claiming that it represented in their original form the only genuine letters. This publication revived the Ignatian controversy. Many scholars were inclined to follow Cureton in rejecting both the Middle and Long Recensions. Among them was Lightfoot. But as a result of investigation he returned to the side of Ussher. In his *Apostolic Fathers*, Part ii, he has proved that the Long Recension is an expansion, and the Short Recension an abridgement, of the Middle Recension; and he has vindicated the genuineness of the latter with marvellous learning and acuteness. Up to the present no critic has succeeded in invalidating his argument. Ussher's remarkable Dissertation and Prefaces may be read in Elrington's edition of his Works, vol. vii, pp. 87–295.

36. 1 *a companion of the apostles*] This phrase explains the meaning of the words "occupying the first step in the succession from the apostles" (37. 1), "the first succession from the apostles" (ii. 23. 3; iii. 37. 4; v. 20. 1), and "the apostolic succession" (v. 11. 2).

36. 1 *Polycarp*] See iv. 14. 1, note.

2 *Papias*] Eusebius here places the floruit of Papias early in the second century. Papias seems to have begun the researches which were embodied in his *Expositions of the Dominical Oracles* (c. 39) while some of the apostles and the daughters of Philip were alive (39. 1, 9), *i.e. c.* 100 or earlier. The work itself was considerably later (39. 3, 4); but if we accept the statement of Irenæus (39. 1: see note there), it can hardly be dated after the reign of Hadrian (117–138). See Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 111 f.; Lightfoot, *S.R.* 149 f.; Salmon in *D.C.B.* iv. 186. Papias was probably a native of Hierapolis (Lightfoot, *ib.* 153).

Ignatius] The tone of Ignatius' Epistle to Polycarp seems to indicate that he was considerably the elder of the two men. His birth may therefore be placed about the middle of the first century. Some expressions in his letters suggest that he was born of heathen parents, and became a Christian when he was of mature age. He describes himself as "an untimely birth" (*Rom.* 9) and "the last of the believers" at Antioch (*Eph.* 21; *Rom.* 9; *Smyrn.* 11: cp. 1 Cor. xv. 8 f.).

The date of his succession to the see of Antioch is unknown; but if he was the second successor of St. Peter it was probably not later than 100. That he was condemned as a Christian by the provincial magistrate and was sent to Rome to be thrown to the beasts we learn from his letters. He is commemorated in the Syriac Martyrology on 17 October; and since this is in agreement with the date of his Epistle to the Romans (24 August: *Rom.* 10) it probably gives the true day of his martyrdom (Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 372; ii. 418–434). But the year is uncertain. Lightfoot (*Ign.* ii. 472) after a long discussion places it between 100 and 118, or, more definitely, "within a few years of A.D. 110, before or after" (i. 30, 444). Harnack's latest opinion (*Chron.* i. 406) is in favour of 110–117 or perhaps 117–125. Ramsay (*R.E.*, p. 317) suggests 112–117.

second in the succession] See c. 22.

3 *it is recorded*] λόγος ἔχει. The document to which Eusebius refers for the actual martyrdom may have been Orig., *Luc.* vi; or he may have relied on the letters, which anticipate it. Cp. his (false) inference from the anticipation of Justin (iv. 16. 1).

4 *journey through Asia*] Ignatius apparently travelled by land from Antioch to Cilicia (Ramsay, *R.E.* 318: Agathopus from Syria "followed" him and was accompanied for part of the way by Philo, "a deacon of Cilicia"; *Philad.* 11; *Smyrn.* 10), and then through the Cilician Gates to Laodicea. From this point there were two roads to Smyrna, one through Philadelphia and Sardis, the other (somewhat shorter) through

Tralles, Magnesia and Ephesus. Ignatius went by the former route. Delegates from the cities on the other route were sent to Smyrna to greet him. To the churches represented by these delegates, and to the church of Rome, he wrote letters from Smyrna (§ 5). From Smyrna he went to Alexandria Troas, and there he wrote letters to the Smyrnæans, to Polycarp, and to the Philadelphians, with whom he had spent some time on his journey (Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 33 ff., 361–364). From Troas he sailed to Neapolis (*Pol.* 8). When Polycarp wrote his epistle he had passed through Philippi and was probably already at Rome (Pol., *Phil.* 13).

36. 4 *cities where he stopped*] Eusebius seems to have thought that in his epistles Ignatius repeated teaching to which he had already given expression during visits to the several churches to which he wrote. This is no doubt true of the Philadelphians (*Philad.* 7) and Smyrnæans. But it is clearly not true of the churches named in § 5. But some remarks of Ignatius, concerning the delegates sent by those churches, may have led a not very careful reader to suppose that he had visited them: *Eph.* 1, 2; *Magn.* 2, 6, 15; *Trall.* 1.

5, 10 The epistles are here cited in an order different from that in which they were originally arranged (see § 15, note). The letters from Smyrna come first, and are followed by those from Troas. It is hardly likely that this order is due to Eusebius; judging from his practice in other instances, he probably took it from the copy which he used. It may be suspected that the re-arrangement was due to Origen, who knew and quoted the letters, and whose books were preserved in the library of Cæsarea (cp. Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 289; but see p. 426).

10 *personally*] ἰδίως. Jerome (*V.I.* 16) translated this word by *proprie*: "to the Smyrnæans and *especially* to Polycarp." Ussher, misled by this, contended that the extant letter to Polycarp was spurious (*Works*, vii. 97 ff.).

commits to his charge] A misleading statement. Ignatius (*Pol.* 7) merely asked Polycarp to summon a council and to elect a delegate who (*Smyrn.* 11) should carry to Antioch a letter of congratulation on the cessation of the persecution there. A similar request was made to the Philadelphians (*Philad.* 10) and the Philippians (Pol., *Phil.* 13, § 14 below); and embassies had been sent from other churches (*Philad.* 10). Polycarp (*Pol.* 8) was also asked to "write to the churches in front to the intent that they also may do this same thing."

11 *from I know not what source*] Jerome (*V.I.* 16; cp. *In Isai.* xviii. pref.) states that the account given by Ignatius of the appearance of the Lord to Peter and his companions (cp. Lk. xxiv. 33–43) came from the Gospel of the Hebrews. But Eusebius knew that Gospel; and Origen (*Princ.* i. pref. 8), who may have read it in the same copy (25. 5, note),

implies that the story was in the Teaching of Peter (see 3. 2, note). Probably it was in the copy of the Gospel preserved in Aleppo from which Jerome made his translation, but not in that which was preserved in Cæsarea. Cp. Lightfoot's note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 3, and, for another view, Harnack, *Chron.* i. 640. That Ignatius actually quoted the Gospel of the Hebrews or even the Teaching of Peter seems to be an unwarranted supposition.

36. 12 *Irenæus*] The earliest direct quotation from Ignatius.

13 *Polycarp*] See iv. 14. 1, note.

Ignatius] He had passed through Philippi, and Polycarp evidently assumes that he has finished his course. But that he had not had "sure tidings" of the fact is clear from the sentence which follows the next quotation (Pol., *Phil.* 13): "Concerning Ignatius himself and those that are with him, if ye have any sure tidings, certify us." Polycarp therefore wrote not many weeks after Ignatius left Troas for Rome. For conjectures about Rufus and Zosimus see Lightfoot, *Ign.* iii. 313, 337.

he adds] For the Greek text of the following passage Eusebius is our only authority.

14 *the letter from you*] *i.e.* the letter which the Philippians proposed to send to Antioch (§ 10, note). The statement that Ignatius wrote to Polycarp about it, if it is taken strictly, must mean that he added a few lines to the letter of the Philippians; for there is no allusion to the subject in the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp.

15 That the letters here mentioned are the seven epistles of §§ 5, 10 is made clear by § 13, "these same letters." It is implied that, in the copy of them which followed Polycarp's Epistle, those to the Smyrnæans and Polycarp came first. Thus the order was not that of §§ 5, 10. It probably agreed with that which is found in all existing MSS. and Versions: Smyrnæans, Polycarp, Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians (or Philadelphians, Trallians), Romans (see Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 426 ff.).

Heros] The proper form is Heron, as in iv. 20 and the *Chronicle* (p. 277, Eron), (*J.T.S.* xviii. 110).

37. 1 *it is recorded*] λόγος ἔχει. The document which this phrase implies may be the anonymous writing against the Montanists (v. 17. 3, 4), which Eusebius here seems to have in his mind. But the Quadratus of the text is undoubtedly the Apologist (iv. 3. 1), and the fact here mentioned may have been explicitly stated in his *Apology*, while it is at most vaguely alluded to in the extant fragments of the Anonymous. Cp. note, p. 117.

And moreover many others] On this passage see Introd., p. 17.

38. 1 *Clement, in the letter*] See c. 16, note.

38. 1 *Hebrews*] See vi. 14. 2; 25. 14, and note, p. 103.

4 *there is said*, etc.] δευτέρα τις εἶναι λέγεται τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολή. From this statement Harnack (*Chron.* i. 439) infers that Eusebius had not seen the epistle. But in that case Eusebius could not have said, as he does, that the ancients had not used it. He was well aware that ancient quotations were often anonymous (cp., *e.g.*, 36. 12; iv. 14. 9; v. 8. 7); and the existence of quotations, apart from citations, could not be denied of a book the text of which was not known. Lightfoot (*Clem.* ii. 199) thought that "the hearsay implied in λέγεται" might refer to the authorship of the book. But does λέγεται imply hearsay in Eusebius? He may be simply stating the fact that the tract was ascribed to Clement, perhaps in the heading of his copy. The next clause would give his reason for rejecting the ascription, which he certainly did (§ 1; c. 16). Perhaps, indeed, the word τις intimates doubt. For this use of τις see Lucian, *De Mort. Pereg.* 12 (χήρας τινάς: "widows as they call them"), 41 (διαθήκας τινάς: "testaments as he called them"), quoted in Lightfoot, on Ign., *Smyrn.* 13 (p. 322). But if we have here another example of this usage, all that is in doubt is the propriety of the word "second." We might translate "an (other) epistle of Clement, a second as it is called." For the MSS. and editions of the so-called second Epistle of Clement see note on c. 16. It is not included in the MSS. there noted as made known after Lightfoot's death. The "epistle" is now known to be a homily, written a considerable time after Clement's death. Its author is unknown, and its date and the place of its composition are uncertain. For Harnack's theory of its origin, and the difficulties with which it is encumbered, see note on iv. 23. 11. Both Harnack and Lightfoot hold that the homily was disseminated with the genuine Epistle of Clement from Corinth. Lightfoot's opinion that it was actually written at Corinth is, on that hypothesis, *a priori* probable; but the direct evidence for it is not altogether convincing. Lightfoot dates it about 120–140. For further information see Lightfoot, *Clem.* ii. 189–210.

5 *Apion*] This is evidently the Apion whose name appears in the customary title of Josephus's work *On the Antiquity of the Jews* (9. 4). He is represented as disputing with Clement in *Clem. Hom.* iv–vi, and is mentioned elsewhere in the Pseudo-Clementines (*Hom.* xx. 11, 17, 21; *Recog.* x. 52, 58). Lightfoot (*D.C.B.* i. 130) suggested that the dialogues here mentioned were "conversations which Clement held with Peter and with Apion severally." And Dr. Headlam accepts this theory (*J.T.S.* iii. 47 f.). One of the dialogues may have been that which appears in *Hom.* iv–vi, the conversation between Clement and Peter being perhaps that recorded in *Hom.* i. 16–22; *Recog.* i. 13–19. But the phrase of Eusebius

seems naturally to mean dialogues between Peter and Apion (cp. the title of the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, in *Anecd. Oxon.* viii. 65). And Photius (113) mentions a dialogue (*sing.*) of Peter and Apion, his notice of which can hardly have been based on Eusebius. The dialogue (or dialogues), at any rate, circulated apart from the other Clementine writings.

39. 1 *Expositions of the Dominical Oracles*] Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως. The last word seems to be a mis-reading of ἐξήγησις or, more probably, ἐξηγήσεις. For the translation of the title see *Hermathena*, xliii. 167–204, and J. Donovan, *The Logia in ancient and recent literature*, 1924. The "Dominical Oracles" are apparently authoritative writings relating to the Lord Jesus Christ, giving an account of His deeds as well as His sayings, *i.e.* Gospels, though not necessarily our canonical Gospels. Cp. §§ 15, 16. The extant fragments of Papias' work have been collected in Lightfoot–Harmer, pp. 513 ff. (with E.T., pp. 525 ff.), Gebhardt, Harnack and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, i. 2, pp. 87–104, and elsewhere.

a man of primitive times] ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ: cp. Acts xxi. 16, and § 13 below. This testimony of Irenæus cannot mean merely that Papias wrote twenty or thirty years before the words were penned, as Harnack supposes (*Chron.* i. 357). It warrants the belief of Eusebius that his floruit was early in the century (36. 2). For the later date Harnack relies mainly on a supposed fragment of Papias published by C. de Boor (*T.U.* v. 2, p. 170), in which he is represented as stating that certain persons on whom our Lord wrought miracles survived "to the time of Hadrian." If Papias wrote these words his work must be dated after the reign of Hadrian (*i.e.* after 138), but they are apparently a paraphrase of a statement of Quadratus (iv. 3. 2). See *Hermathena*, *l.c.*, pp. 178, 218, notes. It is probable that the *Expositions* were written under Hadrian. Cp. Lightfoot, *S.R.*, p. 149 f.

2 *their pupils*] This clearly corresponds to those "who had been followers of the elders" (§ 4), and involves an identification of the "elders" with the apostles. Cp. § 7.

3 *interpretations*] ἑρμηνείαις: equivalent to the "expositions" (§ 1). They seem to have been the subject of the previous section of the preface.

the elders] The elders are identified with the apostles (see §§ 2, 7). Thus on his own showing this passage contradicts the thesis of Eusebius (§ 2) that Papias was not a hearer of the apostles.

4 *what Andrew . . . said*] This rendering is that of Lightfoot (*S.R.*, p. 143) and Zahn (*Forsch.* vi. 122). It seems to imply that the sayings of the elders were the things that Andrew, etc., said. Thus it is supported by Eusebius (§§ 2, 7); also by Rufinus, who renders τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις by

apostolos, and leaves "the discourses of the elders" untranslated; by the Syriac version ("I inquired about the words of the elders, of Andrew what he said," etc.), and by Jerome (*V.I.* 18). Schmiedel and others render, "as to what Andrew . . . said," thus making the elders the *followers* of the apostles, and Papias dependent, for the most part, for the sayings of the Apostles on third-hand evidence. This is hardly consistent with his statement that he had heard "disciples of the Lord." For a discussion see *Hermathena, l.c.*, p. 206. The seven names here mentioned are those of the most notable of the twelve Apostles: it may reasonably be inferred that the persons indicated were members of that body. And this conclusion is confirmed when we observe that Andrew, Peter and Philip, who head the list, were those of the Twelve, according to Johannine tradition (John i. 35–44), who first, and in that order, attached themselves to the Lord. Indeed, it is only of Philip and James that any doubt is reasonable. Some writers assume that the former was the evangelist of Acts vi. 5, etc., and the latter James the Just, the brother of the Lord. But there is no proof that either of these was a "disciple of the Lord," and there is distinct evidence to the contrary in the case of James (Mark iii. 21, 31; John vii. 5), who seems to have become a believer after the Resurrection (Acts i. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 7). See further *Hermathena, l.c.*, p. 207.

39. 4 *the Lord's disciples*] It would seem that after these words there is a lacuna in the text, such as we often find in Eusebius' quotations (see Introd., p. 22). On this supposition we get rid of the awkward repetitions of the word "elder" and of the phrase "disciples of the Lord." See also *Hermathena, l.c.*, pp. 207–210, and § 7, note. In this instance the omission was probably due to a blunder of the scribe.

Aristion] Nothing is certainly known of this person except what we learn from the present passage. But in an Armenian manuscript of the Gospels, dated A.D. 986, which was discovered by Mr. F. C. Conybeare at Edschmiatzin in 1891, [Mark] xvi. 9–20 is attributed to "the elder Ariston." Mr. Conybeare is probably right in identifying him with our Aristion, though he is not styled "elder" by Papias; for the Armenian version of the *History* reads "Ariston [so also the Syriac] and John, the elders." The passage was perhaps one of Aristion's narratives (§ 14). See *Expositor*, Ser. 4, viii. (1893), p. 241 ff., and Swete, *St. Mark*, p. ciii. f. The spurious conclusion of the Gospel may in fact have been copied or paraphrased from the *Expositions*. Harnack, it is true, will not admit this (*Chron.* i. 698, note), on the ground that it was attached to the Gospel before the *Expositions* were published. But the argument rests on his theory of the date of Papias (§ 1, note).

39. 4 *John the elder*] Eusebius argues (§§ 5–7) that this John was not the Apostle of the same name; and his conclusion is accepted by Lightfoot (*S.R.*, p. 144) and many others. But the reasoning of Eusebius seems unconvincing; and the argument of others who have reached the same conclusion on other lines is of doubtful validity (*e.g.* Schmiedel in *Encyc. Bib.*, 2506 ff.; Harnack, *Chron.* i. 660 ff.). The question of the identity of John the Apostle and John the elder cannot be fully discussed here, but reference may be made to Salmon, in *Introd.*, 287–289 and *D.C.B.* iii. 398 ff.; Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 115–125, 141–147; *Hermathena, l.c.*, pp. 212–218.

books] What these books may have been is a vexed question. Lightfoot (*S.R.*, p. 160) supposed them to be heretical books. At all events they are not "evangelical records, but works commenting on such records"; not "written Gospels," but "written aids to interpretation."

5 *other apostles*] That Andrew, etc., were apostles is plainly an inference from the names. Papias does not use the word "apostle."

Aristion before him] Eusebius seems to assume that the names were set down in the order of dignity. But the names in the former list are not in the order of dignity.

calls him "elder"] This is more likely to have been done in order to distinguish him from Aristion than to distinguish him from the apostles, who are in fact called "elders" according to Eusebius himself (§§ 2, 7).

6 *who have said*] In spite of the words "still to this day" Eusebius is relying on the report brought to Dionysius of Alexandria (see footnote). In *Theoph.* iv. 7, probably written after the *History*, Eusebius betrays no knowledge of the second tomb. The existence of two tombs would in any case prove nothing.

name of John] Cp. note, p. 102 f.

7 *apostles*] The very words of Papias (§ 4) are quoted with the substitution of "apostles" for "elders"—a clear indication that Eusebius believed that the two words indicated the same persons. Cp. § 2.

but says] The statement occurs in no extant fragment of Papias. It may well have been made in the portion of the preface which we suppose to have been omitted (§ 4). It must be admitted, however, that the words "Certainly he mentions," etc., may possibly qualify the preceding assertion.

traditions] παραδόσεις. If this word means oral traditions, as it appears to mean in § 14, it is implied that Papias was a frequent hearer of Aristion and John.

9 *Philip the apostle*] This may have been the evangelist, whom Eusebius elsewhere (c. 31) confuses with the apostle. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that he is not to be identified with the Philip of § 4. And the order of the

words (Φιλ. τὸν ἀπ.) seems to imply Philip the apostle, as distinguished from another Philip who was not an apostle (Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 142). See further note, p. 116. Whichever view is adopted the statement implies an early date for Papias. The daughters of the evangelist had passed out of childhood by A.D. 57 (Acts xxi. 9). They cannot have lived far into the second century, and Papias must have attained manhood when he received the narrative from them. The daughters of Philip the apostle can scarcely have survived them by many years; though in regard to them we have no definite date.

39. 9 *their contemporary*] The pronoun is masc., suggesting that Papias was a contemporary of Philip, as well as of his daughters.

he relates] We seem to have independent testimony in the Epitome of Philip of Side (*T.U.* v. 2, p. 170) that these stories were told by Papias: "Papias . . . related, as having received it from the daughters of Philip, that Barsabbas, who is also called Justus, when he was tested by the unbelievers, drank viper's poison (ἰὸν ἐχίδνης), and by the name of Christ was preserved from hurt. And he relates also other wonders, and especially that of the mother of Manaimus (Menahem, Manaen), who rose from the dead." The story about Barsabbas recalls [Mark] xvi. 18, and confirms the view that the end of Mark was a narrative of Aristion. Papias may have used the story to illustrate it. But we cannot be confident that this passage is actually drawn from the *Expositions*. See W. Lockton in *Theology*, v. (1922), 80.

13 *Irenæus*] The reference is specially to Iren. v. 33, part of which is quoted in § 1.

14 *accounts . . . traditions*] διηγήσεις . . . παραδόσεις. The former seems to mean written stories, the latter oral communications.

15 *the elder*] This is probably John the elder. See § 14. Papias is evidently giving, on the authority of the elder, an account of the origin of the Gospel according to St. Mark, and defending it against criticisms which had been passed upon it; especially its lack of order. The defence is that Mark accurately followed Peter.

used to say] ἔλεγε. Implies that Papias heard the presbyter say this.

having been] γενόμενος. This was translated "having become" by Lightfoot; but since his day the papyri have brought to light the very common usage by which γενόμενος with a noun is equivalent to an "ex-" so and so: cp. vi. 25. 14. Κλήμης ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίων. In view of this fact we must interpret the statement of Papias to mean that St. Mark's connection with St. Peter was past, *i.e.*, that St. Peter had died before the Second Gospel was written

(Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, *s.v.*). Cp. vi. 14. 7, note.

not in order] Order may mean (1) literary order or (2) chronological order. The former meaning seems to suit the present passage better than the latter.

the Dominical oracles] This phrase is obviously equivalent to " what was either said or done by the Lord " above—not merely His sayings. Cp. § 1, note.

39. 16 *the statement*] It should not be assumed, as is often done, that this is a statement of " the elder " (§ 15).

Hebrew language] Probably meaning Aramaic, as often elsewhere, *e.g.* Acts xxi. 40. The tradition that the Gospel of St. Matthew was originally written in Hebrew and translated into Greek goes back at least to Irenæus (see v. 8. 2; 10. 3; vi. 25. 4). Probably Papias gave expression to that opinion in the passage of which this sentence was a portion. He seems to imply that the time had passed when every man translated the Aramaic as he could, and that he had before him an authoritative Greek version, no doubt the first Gospel in its present form. If so, it is clear that " the oracles " are here the first Gospel, as in § 15 " the Dominical oracles " are the second Gospel (cp. § 1). But that our Matthew is a translation, or that its author was Matthew the Apostle, is incredible. The hypothesis that best explains the origin of this ancient belief is the following: St. Matthew wrote in Aramaic the non-Marcan document which lies behind our Matthew and Luke (Q). It was known as Matthew's account of the Dominical oracles; and the later Gospel, of which it was the core, was confused with it. The identification first appears in Papias and may have gained currency through him. It is unlikely that his story of the genesis of Matthew was based on direct knowledge. As in the case of Mark, he must have got his information from someone else. His informant may have been speaking of Q, while Papias imagined him to be speaking of the canonical Matthew. See *Hermathena*, *l.c.*, pp. 201–204.

17 *another story*] This is almost certainly the Pericope Adulteræ ([John] vii. 53–viii. 11). It may, like the spurious ending of St. Mark (§ 4, note), have been interpolated in the canonical Gospels, and in the Gospel of the Hebrews, from Papias. Eusebius is careful not to say that Papias borrowed it from the Gospel of the Hebrews, merely remarking that it was in that Gospel (25. 5) as well as in Papias. See Zahn, *G.K.* ii. 703 f.

Note on the Migration of Philip to Asia. iii. 31; 39; v. 24.

Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, and an excellent authority on Asian traditions (v. 24. 6, 7), states in a letter written

about 191 (v. 24. 1, note) that Philip the apostle died at Hierapolis; and that he had three daughters, two of whom died at Hierapolis, and one at Ephesus. The third daughter was probably married, though this cannot be inferred with certainty from the language of Polycrates (iii. 31. 3 = v. 24. 2, note). It is implied that Philip and the three daughters referred to had migrated from Palestine to Asia. His testimony is confirmed by a less reliable witness, his contemporary, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 6 = *H.E.* iii. 30. 1), in so far as he states that Philip the apostle had daughters. Clement, indeed, seems to say that more than one of the daughters were married (but see Lightfoot, *Col.*, p. 45). But this involves no discrepancy: if some of his daughters had been married before he left Palestine they would probably not have accompanied him to Asia; and Polycrates is concerned only with persons who lived and died there. Another apparent confirmation comes from Papias, who was personally acquainted with Philip and his daughters at Hierapolis (iii. 39. 9, note). Thus there is strong evidence in the second century that Philip the apostle ended his days at Hierapolis. It will be observed that neither Polycrates nor Clement nor Papias suggests that his daughters were prophetesses: they were not confused with those of Philip the evangelist.

But there is another early tradition, which has been thought by some to be in conflict with this evidence. Within a few years of the date of the epistle of Polycrates an anonymous writer against the Montanists of Phrygia tells us (v. 17. 3, 4; see note) that they held the doctrine of a succession of prophets, similar to that of the succession of bishops; and he indicates that the alleged predecessors of Montanus, Maximilla and Priscilla were Agabus, Judas, Silas, the daughters of Philip, Ammia of Philadelphia and Quadratus. The first three of these were Judæan prophets (Acts xi. 27, 28; xv. 22, 32; xxi. 10); the daughters of Philip must have been the daughters of the evangelist (Acts xxi. 8 f.; cp. Origen on 1 Cor. xiv. 34 in Cramer, *Cat.* v. 279); Ammia and apparently Quadratus were Asians. Now if the series was a real succession the daughters of Philip must have migrated from Cæsarea to Asia or Phrygia. And this is in accordance with the fact, vouched for by a document which was in Eusebius's hands, that Quadratus prophesied "as well as the daughters of Philip" (iii. 37. 1, note). We may be confident that this did not take place in Palestine. Moreover Proclus, the Montanist opponent of Gaius, in a passage in which he is apparently setting out the prophetic succession (iii. 31. 4), asserts that the four prophetesses, daughters of Philip (of course the evangelist), and their father died at Hierapolis. This testimony may appear to amount to proof that the evangelist and his daughters ended their days in the town in which

we seem to have shown that Philip the apostle and two of his daughters died. And if the evidence is good it is not easy to see why this result should be rejected. There is no inherent improbability in the supposition that both Philips had daughters, and that both settled down and died in the same place.

But two facts must be noted. Proclus was apparently a Western (ii. 25. 6, note), and therefore had no first-hand knowledge of Asian tradition; and his statement about the daughters of Philip comes to us through Gaius, a Roman presbyter, who may not have recorded it correctly. It is quite possible that one or both of these authorities may have confused Philip the evangelist with Philip the apostle, as Eusebius certainly did (iii. 31. 5). And apart from the *Dialogue* there is no evidence that Philip the evangelist accompanied his daughters when they went to Asia, or that their resting-place was at Hierapolis. We may regard these allegations as unproven. But the migration of Philip the apostle with three of his daughters, and the burial of two of the daughters and their father at Hierapolis and of the third at Ephesus, are vouched for by strong testimony; for the migration of the daughters of Philip the evangelist to some part of Asia or Phrygia the evidence is nearly as strong. And to the supposition that both stories are true there is only one objection. If the daughters of the evangelist "fell asleep" in Asia, why did Polycrates ignore them? The answer is simple. The "great lights" whom Polycrates brings forward as supporters of Quartodeciman practices are in the main apostles, bishops and martyrs. Philip's daughters are mentioned only incidentally: they would probably not have been mentioned at all, had not their father been included in the list. In such a roll there was no place for four sisters who prophesied; in the Montanist succession they had their place, just because they were prophetesses.

For discussions of the question see Lightfoot, *Col.*, p. 45 f.; Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 161 ff.; Harnack, *Chron.* i. 669.

1. *the bishop*] Cerdon. See iii. 21.

Alexander] In the *Chronicle* (p. 277) Eusebius dates his accession 11 Trajan (109). The true date is probably *c.* 105. See Introd. p. 44.

2. 1 *approaching the eighteenth year*] That is, before September 115.

another disturbance] For this war see Schürer, i. 2, p. 281–287.

2 *Lupus*] Marcus Rutilius Lupus, who is known from an inscription to have been governor of Egypt in 116 (Schürer, i. 2, p. 282 n.).

3 *Lucuas*] The Cyrenians acknowledged him as their king (§ 4). According to Dion Cassius (lxviii. 32) his name was Andrew.

Marcius Turbo] Apparently the successor of Lupus (§ 2) as Prefect of Egypt (Schürer, *l.c.*).

5 *the Jews in Mesopotamia*] Trajan, after taking Ctesiphon, in 116, had advanced on his Parthian expedition as far as Charax Spasinu at the head of the Persian Gulf, and returned to Babylon when the news of this revolt in his rear reached him. As a result of minute examination of the narrative of Dion Cassius, and contemporary coins and inscriptions, Lightfoot reaches the conclusion that Trajan marched against the Parthians from Antioch in the spring of 115 (not, as other scholars hold, in 116), captured Ctesiphon at the end of the year, and immediately afterwards set out for the Persian Gulf (*Ign.* ii. 411–416). This agrees fairly well with the date given by Eusebius.

Lusius Quietus] A Moorish general who had taken a notable part in the Parthian war.

the province] Mesopotamia, which Trajan had organised as a province in 115.

Greeks] *E.g.* Dion Cassius, early in the third century, and Appian, who was contemporary with the events.

3. 1 *Hadrianus*] Full name: Publius Ælius Hadrianus. Trajan died, while on his way to Italy after his Parthian expedition, at Selinus in Cilicia, *c.* 8 August 117.

Quadratus] In his *Chronicle* (p. 281) Eusebius describes this Quadratus as a disciple of the apostles (cp. iii. 36. 1, note) and he must be identified with the prophet of iii. 37. 1. Since he is there associated with the daughters of Philip, and in v. 17.

3, 4 with Ammia of Philadelphia, he may have lived in Asia. His Apology seems to have given information as to the circumstances of its composition ("because certain wicked men were endeavouring to molest our people"); and Eusebius may have inferred therefrom the date which he gives it in the *Chronicle*—9 Hadrian (126)—shortly before the Emperor's return to Rome from his first journey. It has been suggested that, as Eusebius has fallen into error about the date of the Apology of Aristides (§ 3, note), he may have made a similar mistake about that of Quadratus, and that it really belongs to the reign of Antoninus. But the early date assigned to him by Eusebius is confirmed by his statement that some on whom Christ had wrought miracles survived to his own time. See further Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 41 ff.

3. 2 *to our own day*] Not, of course, to the time at which the Apology was written, but to an earlier period in the life of Quadratus.

3 *Aristides*] A Syriac version of the Apology of Aristides was discovered by Dr. Rendel Harris in a seventh-century manuscript in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, in 1889. He edited it in the first fasciculus of *T.S.* in 1891. But while it was passing through the press another discovery was made. Dr. J. Armitage Robinson observed that there was much resemblance between the speech of Nachor in the religious romance, entitled *The Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*, and Dr. Harris's text of the Apology. When the two were compared it turned out that the speech was nothing more or less than the Apology itself. So in *Barlaam and Josaphat* we have the original Greek, in a recension which differs somewhat from that which underlies the Syriac. The Greek text, thus recovered, is published as an appendix to Dr. Harris's edition. In the same volume are printed translations of fragments of an Armenian version. A fragment of the Greek text was published from a papyrus in the British Museum in 1923 (*J.T.S.* xxv. 73 ff). Now the first words of the Apology in the Syriac are "[To the Emperor] Cæsar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, from Marcianus Aristides, a philosopher of Athens." The emperor here named is not he whom we know as Hadrian (3. 1, note) but his successor Antoninus Pius (c. 10, note). Accordingly it is generally believed that Eusebius is wrong when he tells us that the Apology was presented to Hadrian. This supposition is the more easily accepted inasmuch as we know that Eusebius has made similar mistakes elsewhere (13. 1–7, note). It is possible, indeed, that he had never seen this Apology, and that his statements about it are based on hearsay. For of it he says merely that it is "preserved in the hands of very many," not adding (as in § 1) that he had access to a copy. But if that conclusion is

too rash, it may be suggested that the two Apologies were written on a single roll, and that, having fixed the date of the first, Eusebius, undeterred by the imperial name, assumed that the second belonged to the same period (see Introd., p. 33 f.). Internal evidence seems to show that the Apology was written early in the reign of Antoninus Pius—*c.* 140 (Bardenhewer, i. 197 f.). In the edition of the Apology by E. Hennecke (*T.U.* iv. 3, 1893) an attempt is made to re-construct the original text from the available material. See also J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten*, 1907.

4. *Alexander*] *c.* 105–115. See Introd. p. 44, col. 3.

5. 1–3 On this passage and probable source, see note, p. 167.

1 *failed to find their dates*] Eusebius contrasts the bare series of names of the Jerusalem bishops with the Roman and Alexandrian lists (c. 4), which included chronological details.

they were exceedingly short-lived] This remark of course does not apply to the first two bishops. It is an attempt to explain the great number of bishops in so short a period. Cp. note, p. 169. It implies that bishops were rarely appointed in old age.

2 *it is said*] φασί. On this word, which governs the remainder of § 2, see note, p. 168.

insomuch that, etc.] Note the coincidences of phrase with iii. 11 : " [They] took counsel, all in common, as to whom they should *judge worthy* . . . *all* . . . *approved* Symeon . . . *as worthy* of the throne."

3 *came to an end*] This implies that Hadrian's edict (6. 3) applied to Christian, as well as non-Christian, Jews.

5 *ten years*] *c.* 115–125 (Introd. pp. 32, 42 f.).

6. 1 *the revolt of the Jews*] Schürer (i. 2, pp. 287–321) gives a full account of this rebellion, based on the scanty authorities which are available. The foundation of Ælia (§ 4) was a momentous event in the history of the Church, since it marks the final rupture between Judaism and Christianity. This was due to the persecution suffered by the Palestinian Christians at the hands of the adherents of Bar Cochba, because they refused to take part in an insurrection under the banner of a false Messiah (8. 4). Cp. Just., *Dial.* 16 (written not long after the war) : "Circumcision was given as a sign that you might be separated from the other nations *and from us*, and that you might suffer *alone* " etc.

Rufus] Tineius Rufus (Schürer, *l.c.*, 263).

2 *Bar Cochba*] Βαρχωχεβας : so Just., *Apol.* i. 31. In the *Chronicle* (p. 283) *Chochebas*. The former means " son of a star," the latter " a star." This in both forms was an epithet, founded on Num. xxiv. 17, which indicated that this rebel leader was the Messiah. The Jews called him Bar Cozība, which is also an epithet, meaning either " son (of a person named) Cozība " or " inhabitant of (a place named) Cozība."

It appears from coins, according to Schürer (*l.c.*, p. 299), that his name was Simeon.

6. 3 *Beth-ther*] Identified by Schürer (*l.c.* 309 f.) and many others with Bittir, seven miles south-west of Jerusalem, at which traces of an early fort remain.

the author of their folly] Bar Cochba.

even from afar] This is obviously not the language of an imperial decree. But in Tert., *Jud.*, 13 we find a parallel: "Thus it is said by the prophet, Ye shall see the king in his glory . . . and your eyes shall see the land from afar (Isai. xxxiii. 17), because, when after the capture of Jerusalem you were prohibited for your deserts from entering your land, *it was allowed you to see it only from afar.*" It is clear that the two writers borrowed from a common source. Tertullian apparently dropped the word "not," which was in the source and is preserved by Eusebius (μηδ' . . . ἐγκελευσαμένου; Tert., *tantum . . . permissum*), in order to make the statement tally more exactly with the prediction. See next note.

Such is the account given by Aristo of Pella] This remark perhaps applies only to the decree of banishment just mentioned. But it may include the preceding context. Aristo of Pella is an obscure person. The only authority for his existence, independent of this notice, is Maximus the Confessor (cent. vii), who in his commentary on the *De Mystica Theologia* of Dionysius the Areopagite (*c.* 1, p. 243, ed. Corderius) says that he was the author of a Dialogue between Jason (a Christian) and Papiscus (a Jew). This book was known to Celsus (Orig., *Cels.* iv. 52) and it quoted a verse from the version of Aquila (Jer. *Gal.* iii. 14, p. 436). It must therefore have been written between 140 and *c.* 180 (vi. 16. 1; 36. 2, notes). It was in the hands of Clement of Alexandria (Maximus, *l.c.*), and was translated into Latin by one Celsus, probably an African (Ps.-Cyprian, *ad Vigilium* 8, 10; Hartel iii. 128. Date uncertain: Bardenhewer, i. 204 f.). No writer earlier than Maximus who refers to it (with the probable exception of Eusebius) seems to have known the name of the author. The work is now lost; but it appears to have been worked up in the Altercation of Simon a Jew and Theophilus a Christian (ed. Harnack in *T.U.* i. 2) and perhaps in two similar dialogues between Athanasius and Zacchæus and between Timothy and Aquila (ed. Conybeare in *Anecd. Oxon.*, viii; Bardenhewer i. 206). That it was the work to which Eusebius refers in the present chapter could not be maintained on the unsupported evidence of Maximus. But support is forthcoming. In Tert., *Jud.*, § 1 we are told that "it happened quite lately that a disputation was held between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte," but that in the end the issue was somewhat obscured. Tertullian announces that he is about to deal in a more careful style with the subjects that had

been discussed therein. It is highly probable that the "disputation" was the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, which was certainly much read up to the opening years of the third century, and that Tertullian's treatise was founded upon it. Now in c. 13 of the treatise there are two remarkable parallels to passages in our chapter. To one of them attention has been called in the preceding note. The other is the statement "that it is prohibited (interdictum) that any one of the Jews (quisnam Judæorum) should dwell within the border of that region": cp. the words in the text, that "the whole nation was wholly prohibited from setting foot upon the country (γῆς) round about Jerusalem." Thus it is probable —but no more than probable—that Eusebius bases this passage on the lost Dialogue. Conybeare (*l.c.*, p. li), because of the slightness of the evidence for Aristo's authorship of the Dialogue, rejects this hypothesis; and he proposes another (p. lvii), to the effect that Eusebius used the document on which the account of Aquila (the translator of the Old Testament) in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* is based (vi. 16. 1. note), which he supposes to have been a local chronicle of Jerusalem. But (1) there is no evidence that its author was Aristo; (2) it gave information about the war which Eusebius would have used if he had known it; and (3) the only literary parallels to our chapter which Conybeare can give (p. xxxi) are insignificant and are taken from a passage of St. Chrysostom's *c. Judæos*, a work which cannot be shown to be based solely on the "local chronicle."

6. 4 The founding of Ælia Capitolina is here placed after the war. But Dion Cassius (lxix. 12) states that the building began before the war, and was in fact its proximate cause. The two accounts can be reconciled. Apparently the order to build the new city was given in 130, when Hadrian was in Syria, and no doubt the work commenced immediately afterwards. Hadrian was in Egypt at the end of 130, and returned to Syria in 131. When he left that region the rebellion broke out in 132: it ended, after three and a half years, in 135. Then the building of the new city began afresh.

Mark] See v. 12. 1. The mention of his appointment here seems to continue the list in 5. 3, and to have come from the same source. It is naturally postponed to this place so as to follow the parenthetical explanation in §§ 1–4 of the allusions to Hadrian's Jewish war in 5. 2.

7. 2 *when that course*, etc.] Apparently an allusion to the absence of persecution in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, during which Gnostic teaching was rife.

6 *Agrippa Castor*] The earliest recorded writer against heresy, and apparently the only one who composed a book solely devoted to the refutation of Basilides. But we know of him only what is told here.

7. 7 *four and twenty books*] Probably the *Exegetica*, the twenty-third book of which is quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 12. 81. 1).

Barcabbas and Barcoph] The latter name is written Parchor by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 6. 53–2). Hort maintained that their prophecies belonged to the Zoroastrian apocryphal literature (*D.C.B.* i. 249 f.).

9 *was a contemporary*] Irenæus does not seem to have made that statement; but it is probably correct. Irenæus treats of Satorninus, Basilides and Carpocrates in successive chapters (*Hær.* i. 18–20; cp. iv. 22. 5 below), and says (*ib.* 20. 4) that the Carpocratian propagandist Marcellina came to Rome under Anicetus, *i.e.* between 155 and 166.

Gnostics] Irenæus does not confine this name to the Carpocratians, but he says that they called *themselves* Gnostics (*Hær.* i. 20. 4).

8. 1 *Among these*] From this it appears that the Memoirs of Hegesippus were a controversial, not a historical, work. See *Euseb.*, pp. 1–4.

2 *Antinous*] The favourite page of Hadrian, who was drowned in the Nile 130 or 131. He was deified by his master (cp. § 3), who founded Antinoopolis in the Thebais in his honour. The deification of Antinous is mentioned several times by other Apologists of the second century, *e.g.* Just., *Apol.* i. 29; Athenagoras, *Supp.* 30; Theoph., *ad Autol.* iii. 8; Tat., *ad Græc.* 10; Clem., *Protrept.* 4.

who lived in our day] So Eusebius understood the words ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος; otherwise there is no note of Hegesippus's date in the passage. Thus apparently he justifies his statement that Hegesippus belonged to "the first succession from the apostles" (ii. 23. 3) and that he had his floruit under Hadrian (§ 1); but the inference is not valid. At the most it only implies that he was born before Antinous died. And the words on which it is based may be rendered with Rufinus, "which (games) were held (or instituted) in our day." All that we know of the chronology of Hegesippus is that he visited Rome in the time of Anicetus (155–166), and that he wrote his *Memoirs* under Eleutherus (*c.* 174–189 : 22. 3), some time before the date of Irenæus's *Adv. Hær.*, in which they are quoted (*Hær.* 20. 4; cp. [Heg.] in Epiph. *Hær.* 27. 6).

and [appointed] prophets] "Prophets" is in the accusative. Possibly the words are the beginning of a sentence. At any rate the quotation is cut short. Cp. ii. 17. 17.

3 *Justin*] Justin the Martyr was the son of heathen parents (*Dial.* 2). He lived, and was probably born, at Flavia Neapolis (c. 12, note). He tells us (*Dial.* 2) how he went to one teacher after another of various philosophical schools till he seemed to have found what he needed in Platonism. At this period he appears to have been attracted to Christianity

by the bearing of the martyrs (*Apol.* ii. 12 : below, § 5); but the actual cause of his conversion was a colloquy with an aged believer, whom he met by chance, and never saw again (*Dial.* 3–8). This apparently took place several years before his colloquy with Trypho in 135 (18. 6, notes), and, like it, at Ephesus. We may infer that he resided in that city for a considerable time (Zahn in *Z.K.G.* viii. 46 ff.). Christianity was in Justin's view the highest philosophy (*Dial.* 8), and he continued to wear a philosopher's robe after his baptism (11. 8 : cp. *Dial.* 1). On two occasions Justin visited Rome (*Acta Mart. Justi.* 3), and there he suffered martyrdom. The date of his death is fixed by the Acts of his Martyrdom, which state that he was condemned by Rusticus. Junius Rusticus was apparently prefect of the city between 162 and 167 (*ib.* 2; Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 14, note). The *Chron. Pasch.* may be right in giving the exact year of the martyrdom as A.D. 165. For his writings see c. 18.

8. 3 *Antinous*] See § 2, note.

4 *just lately*] ἐν τῷ νῦν. Eusebius makes this quotation in order to prove that Justin lived under Hadrian.

ordered, etc.] See 6. 1, note.

5 *in the same volume*] ἐν ταὐτῷ. This phase is commonly rendered "in the same work," and is supposed to refer to the *Apology* mentioned in § 3, which is plainly the *First Apology*. Since he here proceeds to quote from the *Second Apology*, it is inferred that Eusebius regarded these two as parts of the same treatise. It is probable, indeed, that the second *Apology* is a continuation of, or an appendix to, the first. But that Eusebius held them to be distinct works presented to different emperors is clearly indicated in several passages (ii. 13. 2; iv. 11. 11; 16. 1; 18. 1, 2: but see 17. 1). There are reasons, however, for believing (*Euseb.* 145 ff.) that Eusebius had in his hands a volume which contained the two Apologies, the *Exhortation to the Greeks* (11. 11; 18. 3) and the Epistle to the Commune Asiæ (c. 13). It seems permissible therefore to suppose that ἐν ταὐτῷ refers to that volume, and we have translated accordingly.

7 *our address*] Justin wrote "[we have made] our address [and appeal (ἐξήγησιν)]." Eusebius omits the bracketed words.

8 *Latin rescript*] Obviously Justin gave the rescript in the original. But in the extant MSS. of the *Apology* Eusebius' translation has been substituted for it. It is probable that Rufinus (c. 9), instead of re-translating the Greek, copies the Latin from Justin, according to his practice in other similar instances (ii. 2. 5; 25. 4; cp. iii. 20. 7). For the genuineness of the rescript see Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 476 ff.

9. 1 *Minucius Fundanus. . . . Serenius Granianus*] The correct names are Gaius Minicius Fundanus and Quintus Licinius Silvanus Granianus. They were consuls suffect respectively

in 107 and 106. This gives *c.* 124–5 and *c.* 123–4 as their years of office as proconsuls of Asia. Accordingly the rescript may be dated *c.* 124 (Lightfoot, *l.c.*, p. 479, 657 f.).

9. 1 *the matter*] Lat. relationem, *i.e.* "the matter referred to me."

the men] οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Lightfoot (*l.c.*, p. 480) conjectures that Eusebius wrote οἱ ἄθῳοι, "the innocent," which would agree with Rufinus's *innoxii*.

2 *let them have recourse to this method alone*] Lat. "I do not prohibit their adopting this course."

3 *pass judgement*] Lat. "fix the penalty."

arrest him, etc.] Lat. "punish him as befits his crime with severer penalties."

10. *Antoninus, called Pius*] Succeeded on the death of Hadrian, 10 July 138. It may be well to mention here some facts regarding the succession, the intricacy of which seems to have misled Eusebius. Hadrian, being childless, adopted Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus in 136, and gave him the title Cæsar, his name being changed to Lucius Ælius Verus. This Verus died 1 January 138, leaving a son who was only seven years old. Hadrian then adopted Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus, to whom he gave the titles of Cæsar and Imperator. His name became Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus: he actually succeeded Hadrian, and is known as Antoninus Pius. By Hadrian's order he adopted two sons: (1) Marcus Annius Verus or Verissimus, re-named Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus, who became Cæsar in 139 or 140, and co-regent in 147; (2) the child mentioned above, whose new name was Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus. He was not given the title of Cæsar, which at this period began to be reserved for the heir to the throne; but he was consul in 157 and 161. The elder of the adopted sons of Antoninus Pius succeeded him, and is known as Marcus Aurelius. For the younger (afterwards called Verus) see 14. 10.

Telesphorus] The only martyr recorded by Eusebius as having suffered under Antoninus. But it is probable that Telesphorus died under Hadrian (Introd. p. 44, col. 3). Irenæus says (v. 6. 4 below) that he "suffered martyrdom" (ἐμαρτύρησεν), which need not mean that he died for the faith (see v. 2. 2, note). Harnack (*Chron.* i. 178 f.) suggests that he was a "confessor," and that because of his confession he was made bishop.

11. 1 *Valentinus*] On him see *D.C.B.* iv. 1076 ff. According to this passage he lived at Rome for at least fifteen years, *c.* 140–155 (Introd. p. 44).

Anicetus] See § 7.

Cerdon] Hardly anything is known about him beyond what we learn from the passages of Irenæus here quoted. See *D.C.B.* i. 445.

11. 1,2 *ninth*] Really the eighth (v. 6. 4). In the passage quoted in § 1 the ancient Latin version of Irenæus has *octavo*.

2 *Marcion*] For Marcion, of whose teaching Eusebius gives no account, see Salmon in *D.C.B.* iii. 816 ff.

4 *Marcus*] On him see Salmon in *D.C.B.* iii. 827 ff.

5 *descended upon Jesus*] Irenæus adds "into the union and redemption and fellowship of the powers."

6 *four years*] *c.* 136–140. See Introd. p. 44.

7 *Pius . . . Anicetus*] According to the *Chronicle* (p. 284 f.) Pius was bishop from 143 to 158. But the latter year was two or three years after the death of Polycarp (15. 1, note), who visited Rome under Anicetus (14. 1, 5; v. 24. 16). Hence Pius's episcopate probably ended in 154 or 155 (cp. Introd. p. 44).

Hegesippus records] He does not say this in any extant fragment of his writings, but his words quoted in 22. 3 may imply it.

8 *against Marcion*] See 18. 9.

He speaks thus] We expect an extract from the treatise just mentioned. Instead we have a passage from the first Apology. Cp. ii. 5. 2, note. Eusebius does not seem to have seen the work against Marcion.

9 *and such was a certain Marcion*] The immediately preceding context is quoted in iii. 26. 3.

the Father of Christ] The MSS. of Justin read simply "God."

some other, etc.] The MSS. of Justin have "some other greater One has done greater works than He"—obviously correct.

10 *against all the heresies*] Nothing is known of this book. There is no ground for supposing, as some have done, that it is the treatise against Marcion. Photius (125) seems to have known both.

11 *against the Greeks*] See 18. 3.

12. *To the emperor*, etc.] It is evident that the Apology is here represented to have been addressed to Antoninus Pius and his two adopted sons Marcus Aurelius (here named Verissimus) and Verus (see c. 10; 14. 10, notes). Since Verissimus is not called Cæsar it is implied that it was presented in 138–40 (c. 10, note). Hence it has been commonly dated *c.* 140. But the text seems to be corrupt, and it should probably run "To . . . Antoninus Pius Augustus and to the Cæsar Verissimus" etc. (Harnack, *Chron.* i. 279). If so, Verissimus is called Cæsar, and the inscription does not determine the date. See note, p. 140.

Cæsar the philosopher] Lucius Ælius Verus, the father of the Emperor Verus (c. 10, note), is said to have been learned and eloquent, and a poet (Spartianus, *Æl. Ver.* 5).

Flavia Neapolis] A city founded by Vespasian in 72 beside

the site of the ancient Shechem; now Nablus (Schürer i. 2, p. 265).

12. *the same emperor*] Antoninus Pius. An error: the document purports to be issued by Marcus Aurelius (13. 1). For the imperial name of Antoninus Pius, see c. 10, note.

petitioned by other brethren] This implies that the following rescript was occasioned, in part, by Justin's *Apology*.

Common Assembly of Asia] A confederacy or diet of the principal cities of the province, presided over by the chief priest or asiarch. There were similar diets in other provinces. Their main function was the maintenance of the cultus of the emperor and the festivals and games connected therewith; but they were also engaged to some extent in the civil administration of the province. See Mommsen, *Prov.* i. 344 ff.; Lightfoot, *Ign.* iii. 404 ff.

13. 1–7 Thirty years ago almost all scholars judged this rescript to be a forgery. In 1895, however, Harnack (*T.U.* xiii. 4) stated his opinion that it is a genuine document, with the exception of a few clauses interpolated or touched up. But there remains, among the clauses which he deems uncontaminated, the direction about informers (§ 7). That direction is impossible in the second century; or as Mr. C. R. Haines, who in the main is here a follower of Harnack, admits (*Marcus Aurelius*, *L.C.L.*, 1916, p. 389), "this portion of the edict seems too favourable to the Christians for even Marcus [who in his humanity 'excelled all recorded rulers'] to have promulgated." The rescript may include phrases, or even longer passages, of legal enactments actually published; but for that reason to speak of it as genuine is an abuse of language. It is extant in two forms: (a) in the MSS. of Justin's Apologies, in which it immediately follows *Apol.* i, and is ascribed to Antoninus Pius; (b) in the present chapter, ascribed to Marcus Aurelius. Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 485) shows that the body of the document in (a) is a later re-handling of (b); but he holds that the heading of (a) is earlier than that of (b). His argument, however, in favour of the latter hypothesis is not conclusive; and some of the reasons which induced Eusebius to ascribe to Antoninus a decree which claims in its inscription to have emanated from Marcus may have suggested to the reviser the propriety of altering the inscription. How came Eusebius to suppose that Antoninus was its author? Lightfoot (*l.c.*) suggests that his error was caused by the fact that he knew the rescript in both forms, (a) and (b). But this seems a very improbable solution of the difficulty. If he thought that the inscription of (a) gave the right date, why did he quote the inscription of (b)? We assume then that he had before him only (b). Our explanation is as follows: (1) He probably found it placed between the first and second Apologies (8. 5, note). Assuming that the documents were arranged in

chronological order he would date it before *Apol.* ii. But it was impossible that the persecution described in *Apol.* ii (below, 17. 2 ff.) should have followed the rescript during the reign of the Emperor who issued it. Hence the rescript is assigned to Antoninus, and *Apol.* ii to the reign of Marcus. (2) Eusebius obviously believed that Antoninus was friendly to the Church, while Marcus was a persecutor (cp. 7. 2, and note). The rescript therefore could not have been written by the latter (cp. Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 509 and c. 10, second note). (3) In § 6 (see note) the writer of the edict is apparently called the son of Hadrian. (4) The name of the Emperor in the inscription was scarcely decisive for Eusebius, for he was utterly at sea as to the names of the Antonine Emperors. He calls Marcus Aurelius "Marcus Antoninus qui et Verus" (*Chronicle*, p. 286), "Verus" (13. 8), "Marcus Aurelius Verus also called Antoninus" (14. 10), "Antoninus" (v. 5. 1; 9) and "Antoninus Verus" (18. 2; v. Pref. 1). He informs us (v. 5. 1) that Marcus' brother (Verus) was named Marcus Aurelius, and (18. 2) that "Antoninus Verus" (*i.e.* Marcus Aurelius) had the same name as his father (Antoninus Pius). He never gives Marcus his correct imperial name, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

13. 1 *Armenius*] This should have been written "Armeniacus." It is probably an insertion of an ignorant scribe. The date (Trib. Pot. 15, cons. 3) corresponds to 161; but Marcus did not assume the title Armeniacus until 163 (Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 483).

4 *earthquakes*] The province of Asia is specially subject to earthquakes; and no doubt they, like other natural calamities, were often the occasion of violent outbreaks against the Christians. See Ramsay, *R.E.* 327.

6 This section may refer to the rescript of Hadrian (c. 9). But (1) there is nothing there corresponding to the present allusion to attempts on the Imperial government; and (2) the "divine father" of Marcus Aurelius was not Hadrian but Antoninus Pius. Hence the reference may be to one or more of the letters of Antoninus to the Greeks (26. 10: see Haines, *l.c.*)—if, indeed, it is necessary to suppose that the author of the rescript had any document in view.

7 This clause makes Christianity a religio licita. It did not attain this status till the reign of Gallienus, or later (vii. 13, note).

8 *such was the course of these events*] A vague phrase, which does not necessarily imply that Melito alluded to the rescript of this chapter. See 26. 10.

14. 1 *Polycarp*] Polycarp seems to have been born of Christian parents about the year 69 (§ 3, note; 15. 20, note). According to Irenæus he was apparently a hearer of John (§ 3; iii. 39. 1), *i.e.* of John the Apostle, for Irenæus knows no other John. Eusebius seems to accept his testimony on this point, though he disputes a similar statement about Papias (iii. 39. 2 ff.), who

(if we may believe Irenæus) was a companion of Polycarp. Polycarp was appointed bishop of Smyrna, apparently about 100. For we are told that the appointment was made "by apostles," which probably means by St. John (§ 3; Tert. *Præsc.* 32); and we cannot put St. John's death after the first century. On the other hand in 100 Polycarp was only a little over thirty years of age (15. 20). He was certainly bishop before the date of the martyrdom of St. Ignatius (for which see iii. 36. 2, note), and by that time he had a wide reputation, if we may judge from the tone of his letter to the distant church of Philippi (Pol., *Phil.* 11.) Among his pupils were Irenæus and Florinus (§ 3; v. 20. 5). Towards the close of his life (in 154–5) he visited Rome, and conferred with Anicetus on the question of Easter (§ 5; v. 24. 16; cp. iv. 11. 7, note). Early in 155 or 156 he suffered martyrdom at Smyrna, at the age of 86, as we learn from the next chapter. For full accounts of him see Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 431 ff.; Salmon in *D.C.B.* iv. 423 ff.

14. 1 *Pascha*] πάσχα. This word may mean either (1) the Jewish Passover, or (2) the Christian Easter. We therefore transliterate throughout.

3 *instructed*] μαθητευθείς. Zahn (*Forsch.* iv. 259 f.; vi. 72, 96) insists that this word means "made a disciple," and infers that Polycarp was converted from heathenism. Since he could not have been "converted" much before his fourteenth year it would follow that he was about 100 years old when he was martyred (15. 20), and apparently 98 or 99 when he visited Rome (§ 5); which is improbable. But the verb is certainly sometimes used of the instruction of children of Christian parents (Just. *Apol.* ii. 4, cited by Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 439 n.). Cp. McNeile on Matt. xiii. 52; Harnack, *Chron.* i. 342 f.

early manhood] πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ. Cp. v. 5. 8, where Eusebius substitutes νέα ἡλικία. These phrases seem to mean between 30 and 40 years of age. See Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 36; J. Chapman in *J.T.S.* ix. 42–61. The notice of the intercourse of Irenæus with Polycarp in v. 20. 5 ff. belongs to an earlier period. Hence we may conclude that Irenæus was twice under the instruction of Polycarp, in his boyhood and in mature age.

4 *for he survived long*] The purpose of this parenthesis is apparently to account for the fact, which might seem improbable, that Irenæus had in middle life been a hearer of one who had been made a bishop by apostles. The explanation is that Polycarp was already old when Irenæus last visited him.

5 *when he came to stay at Rome*] Apparently the visit alluded to in § 1. The present passage indicates that it was not a very short one. It took place in 154–5 (11. 7, note).

6 *those who have heard*] Irenæus did not derive his information from Polycarp himself.

7 *Polycarp himself too*] This may have happened either at Rome or in Asia.

14. 7 *the first-born of Satan*] The same expression occurs in Pol., *Phil.* 7.

9 *testimonies*] Polycarp has many quotations from 1 Pet. (see Lightfoot's index), but he never indicates that they are quotations. This is interesting as showing what Eusebius means by "testimonies."

10 *Marcus Aurelius Verus*] See c. 10, note. Antoninus Pius died 7 March 161. Marcus Aurelius, who succeeded him, immediately gave his brother by adoption, Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus, who now came to be called Lucius (Aurelius) Verus (known as VERUS), the rank of Augustus. Thus for the first time the empire was ruled by two Augusti with co-ordinate authority. Verus died in 169, and for the next eight years Marcus was sole Augustus. In 177 he made his son, Lucius Aurelius Commodus Antoninus (generally known as COMMODUS) co-Augustus.

15. 1 *at this time*] ἐν τούτῳ. The date of the martyrdom of Polycarp has been a subject of controversy for nearly three centuries, and it would be hazardous to say that the last word on the question has been spoken. There are three main sources from which the date has been inferred. 1. Eusebius, who in his *Chronicle* places it under 7 Marcus Aurelius (168), and in his *History*, without naming a definite year, at the beginning of his account of the same reign. 2. The Epistle of the Smyrnæans (see next note), which in a passage not quoted by, and possibly not known to, Eusebius (*Mart. Pol.* 21 : see § 45, note) informs us that Polycarp was martyred on the 2nd of Xanthicus, *i.e.* the 23rd of February, a great sabbath (cp. § 15), when Philip the Trallian was high priest (cp. c. 12, note) and Statius Quadratus was pro-consul. This statement is confirmed by *Mart. Pion.* 2 (see § 47, note) and by the Syriac Martyrology, in which Polycarp is commemorated on 23 February. 3. The *Sacred Discourses* of the rhetorician Aristides, a contemporary of Polycarp, who gives several chronological notes, and mentions a pro-consul of Asia named Quadratus, who has been generally identified with Statius Quadratus (see § 5, note). Older scholars started from Eusebius, many of them accepting the date supposed to be given in his *Chronicle*—166 or 167. This date they reconciled as best they could with the statements of Aristides. But it is quite possible that in this instance Eusebius acted on the principle that an annalist must put every event under some year. Anyhow when he wrote his *History* he was less confident of the date. He indicates it by a vague note of time, ἐν τούτῳ. All that can be safely said is that he believed that the matyrdom took place under Marcus Aurelius. But on what grounds? He gives no hint that he had any knowledge of the martyrdom except what he gathered from the Letter of the Smyrnæans, and it certainly

does not indicate the reign of Marcus. The fact is that he could not put the martyrdom earlier than the last years of Pius († 161 : see 14. 1, 5), nor later than the reign of Marcus. In the absence of definite *data* (and *data* which we should regard as definite would not necessarily appear definite to him) he would naturally prefer the notorious persecutor rather than Antoninus Pius, who did not persecute (cp. 13. 1–7, note). Eusebius therefore is a bad guide. M. Waddington saw this and turned from him to Aristides. By an intricate argument he extracted from that writer, with the help of inscriptions, the conclusion that Statius Quadratus was proconsul of Asia in 155, and combining with that result the statement of *Mart. Pol.* 21 (see above) that the martyrdom took place on Saturday, 23 February, he fixed the date as 23 February 155. His argument was accepted by an overwhelming majority of scholars, including Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 656, where a full account of it is given). But eight years after the publication of Lightfoot's great work W. Schmid published a fresh study of Aristides (*Rhein. Museum*, N.F., xlviii (1893), 53 ff.), in which he seems to have proved that Waddington's argument was fallacious. He shows that the Quadratus of Aristides was proconsul of Asia in 165, and that he cannot be identified with Statius Quadratus. Aristides has proved no better a guide than Eusebius (see Harnack, *Chron.* i. 348 ff.). Nevertheless Waddington's labour has not been wasted. His conclusion still holds good, though now it must be reached by another and easier route. The only years between Polycarp's visit to Anicetus (14. 1) and the death of Marcus Aurelius in which 23 February was Saturday are 155, 166, 172 and 177. The last two are incompatible with the fact that Polycarp was 86 when he died (§ 20) and that he was appointed bishop of Smyrna by apostles (14. 3), *i.e.* not later than 100. The second would put his birth in 80, and his appointment as bishop when he was not more than 20 years of age; which is improbable. The only year that remains is 155. Now the Consular Fasti record that Lucius Statius Quadratus was consul in 142. In the ordinary course at that period (Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 658) he would be proconsul of Asia or Africa about 155, certainly not as late as 166. Hence he may be identified with the Statius Quadratus of the Letter. The only difficulty in the way of this conclusion is the failure to explain why the Saturday of the martyrdom is called "a great sabbath" (§ 15). Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 711–713) and Harnack (*Chron.* i. 341, n. 4) accepted the view that it was the sabbath of the feast of Purim. But Salmon (*D.C.B.* iv. 430) pointed out that Purim was held at the full moon, which does not accord with the date 23 Feb. 155. As a way out of this difficulty, which he regards as "fatal" (*J.T.S.* i. 181), Dr. Turner (*Studia Biblica* ii. 111 ff.) suggests that the date of the martyrdom may have

been 22 February 156, which was the sabbath of Purim. He supposes that the Roman date (vii Kal. Mar. = 23 February), was not originally in the Martyrdom, but was inserted by someone who overlooked the fact that 156 was a leap year. In ordinary years 2 Xanthicus would correspond to 23 February, but in leap years (supposing that the intercalary day was not later than 2 Xanthicus) to 22 February. In the Roman Kalendar in leap years (the intercalary day being 24 February) St. Matthias's Day is 25 February; but in the Anglican Kalendar (the intercalary day being 29 February) 24 February, as in ordinary years. Similarly in the Syriac Martyrology the festival of Polycarp is on 23 February, though on Turner's theory he actually suffered on 22 February. Schwartz, who supposes the great sabbath to be the Saturday after the Passover, reaches Turner's conclusion by another route ("Christl. u. jüdische Ostertafeln" in *Abhandlungen der k. Gesellschaft der Wissensch.* N.F., viii. 6, 1905, p. 129 f.) That one of the two dates—23 February 155 or 22 February 156—is correct receives confirmation from § 27 (see note). The latter of the two has the advantage that it leaves more room between the beginning of the episcopate of Anicetus and the martyrdom for the visit of Polycarp to Rome.

15. 2 *the letter*] The *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, nearly the whole of which is paraphrased or quoted in the following sections, was first published in Greek by Archbishop Ussher in 1647 (*Appendix Ignatiana*, p. 13 *bis*). The best edition is Lightfoot's (*Ign.*, vol. i, pp. 604–645; vol. iii, pp. 351–403; E.T. iii, pp. 477–487. His text and E.T. are reprinted in Lightfoot-Harmer, pp. 189–211). External evidence to the letter is very scanty. The earliest unimpeachable witness to its existence is the present chapter. But it apparently professes to have been written by contemporaries of Polycarp (*Mart. Pol.* 16: § 39 below), who had been present at his martyrdom (*Mart. Pol.* 15, 17, 18: §§ 37, 41, 43). And if it is a forgery it is a very skilful one. Lightfoot has little difficulty in showing that the features of the letter which had been impugned by some earlier critics as anachronistic are consistent with its genuineness; and he adduces various indications of early date and historical accuracy. His conclusion is that it was written not long after the events which it records. But it must be added that Dr. J. Armitage Robinson has recently expressed his opinion that on account of the doxology of Polycarp's prayer (§ 35: see note), and for other reasons not yet disclosed, the letter "cannot be a document of the second century" (*J.T.S.* xxi. 103 f.). See also Tyrer in *J.T.S.* xxiii. 390 ff., and Robinson *ib.* xxiv. 141 ff.

3 *Philomelium*] Now Ak Sheher, about 15 miles north-east from Pisidian Antioch, but separated from it by the Sultan Dagh Mountains. It is on the Roman road from Ephesus to the East (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 49).

15.

4–14 In these sections we have a paraphrase of the *Letter of the Smyrnæans* generally known as the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, 1–7. The passage is instructive, as an example of Eusebius's method of paraphrasing his documents. In §§ 4–12 he writes in the *oratio obliqua*, but suddenly changes to the *oratio recta* at § 13. Throughout he takes over many phrases from the text, but he frequently expresses the sense in many words where the writer of the Letter uses few (see especially § 8), and occasionally inserts additions or glosses, which are not always legitimate (§§ 4, 5, 7, 10, 11). His omissions are noteworthy. A feature of the Letter is the constant reference to parallels between the Passion of the Lord and the incidents of the martyrdom: all these are passed over in the paraphrase (§§ 4, 12). In the result the "abridgement," as it has been called, is nearly as long as the text.

4 *other martyrs*] Eusebius omits, "For almost all the events preceding [Polycarp's martyrdom] came to pass in order that the Lord might display to us afresh the martyrdom that is in accordance with the Gospel. For he [*i.e.* Polycarp] delayed in order that he might be delivered up, as also the Lord did, in order that we too might be imitators of Him," etc.

sea shells . . . spit] An expansion, by way of explanation, of the single word κήρυκας, which might mean "heralds," but actually here indicates trumpet-shaped shells. The words "a kind of sharp pointed spit" are another, and here apparently an incorrect, interpretation of the word, as meaning iron spikes.

5 *the proconsul*] L. Statius Quadratus: see §§ 18, 20–25, 41, and § 1, note. His name is given in *Mart. Pol.* 21, a passage to which Eusebius makes no reference.

who was in . . early youth] An addition of Eusebius.

7 *and the threatened tortures to follow*] An addition of Eusebius.

8 An expansion of "It was he who forced himself and some others to come forward of their own will. . . . On this account, therefore, brethren, we do not praise those who deliver themselves up, for the Gospel does not so teach."

10 *at night*, etc.] νύκτωρ ἰδεῖν τὸ ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς αὐτῷ στρῶμα. This and "on arousing," etc., imply that he saw the vision while he was in bed asleep: which is inconsistent with "as he prayed" (cp. § 28). The Letter has merely "he saw his pillow (προσκεφάλαιον) burning," omitting "arousing from sleep." He fell into a trance while awake.

11 *was once more . . . depart*] The Letter has merely "departed."

12 At the beginning of the section Eusebius omits, "For *he could* not *be hid* [cp. Mark vii. 24], since the very ones who betrayed him were those of his own household [cp. John xiii. 18]. And the chief of police, who had been allotted the

very name, for he was called Herod [cp. Luke xxiii. 7], was urgent to bring him into the stadium, to the end that Polycarp might fulfil his lot, by becoming a partaker with Christ, but those who betrayed him should suffer the punishment of Judas himself [cp. Acts i. 16 ff.]. So taking the lad, on the *preparation* [Mark xv. 42], about supper-time, there *came out* gendarmes and horsemen *with* their accustomed *weapons* [John xviii. 3], running, *as against a robber* [Matt. xxvi. 55]."

15. 15 *great sabbath*] See § 1, note.

17 *voice out of heaven*] "No one saw the speaker. This was the sole ground for the belief that it was not a human utterance" (Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 614).

20 *am I his servant*] δουλεύω αὐτῷ. This *may* indicate the period from Polycarp's conversion (cp. 14. 3, note); but the true reading seems to be ἔχω δουλεύων αὐτῷ, which would probably date the eighty-six years from his birth. See Lightfoot, *Ign.* iii. 379. Assuming therefore that his martyrdom took place early in 155 or 156 (§ 1, note) he was born between 68 and 70.

26 *Jews*] See §§ 29, 41, 43. For the colony of Jews at Smyrna see Rev. ii. 9, with Swete's note; Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 468 ff.; iii. 382 f.; Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, 271 ff.

27 *the Asiarch Philip*] In *Mart. Pol.* 21 he is called "chief priest" (cp. c. 12, note), and is said to have been a Trallian. The martyrdom obviously took place on the occasion of one of the festival games over which the Asiarch presided. Now a good deal has been learnt from recently discovered inscriptions about a certain Gaius Julius Philippus. Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 629 f.) has collected ten in which he is named. From these it may be gathered that he was chief priest and Asiarch under Antoninus Pius between 149 and 153, and that he was procurator under Marcus Aurelius. He is therefore probably the Philip of the text. If, as Lightfoot gives reasons for believing (iii. 413), an Asiarch held office for four years, his term may have been 151–155, or 152–156. That he was Asiarch as late as 166 is improbable. Thus the alternative dates of the martyrdom, already reached on other grounds (§ 1, note), are confirmed.

35 *in the Holy Spirit*] The MSS. of *Mart. Pol.* have "and the Holy Spirit": an important difference which Lightfoot does not record (cp. § 2, note).

37 *flesh, but*] After this *Mart. Pol.* has "as a loaf being baked, or": omitted by Eusebius.

38 *confector*] The duty of a confector was "to give the 'happy dispatch' to wild beasts which had been hunted in the arena. . . . In the present instance the *venationes* had just ceased, and therefore a confector was at hand" (Lightfoot).

15. 39 *came out*] After this the MSS. have "a dove and"; omitted (perhaps rightly) by Eusebius. See Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 644 f.; iii. 390 ff.

Catholic] This word is omitted in the Syriac version, and in the Latin of Rufinus. The true reading seems to be "holy." See Lightfoot, *l.c.*, i. 621 ff.; iii. 393.

41 *Alce*] Apparently a prominent Christian of Smyrna. She may be the lady of the same name saluted some 40 years earlier by Ignatius in his letters to Smyrna (*Smyrn.* 13; *Pol.* 8). Her brother and nephew, though heathens, seem not to have been unfriendly to Polycarp (§ 15).

not to give up his body] Cp. *M.P.* 11. 15, note.

45 *from Philadelphia*] Of Polycarp's eleven companions Germanicus alone is mentioned by name (§ 5), and he is not said to have been a Philadelphian.

in every place] Here ends the extract from the *Martyrdom* in the middle of a sentence. It would seem that Eusebius's copy was derived from an exemplar the close of which had been lost, and that it ended at this point. Thus we can account for the fact that he makes no reference to the details given in *Mart. Pol.* 21 (§ 1, note, p. 131).

46 *in the same volume*, etc.] ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ . . . γραφῇ. This is a plain statement that, in the volume which Eusebius used, the Martyrdom of Polycarp was immediately followed by the Acts of Pionius (cp. the next two notes), and that by the Acts of Papylus and others (§ 48 "following this"). The phrase "volume concerning him" suggests that the volume had the general title "On Polycarp" (περὶ Πολυκάρπου). And since the martyrdoms are affirmed to have occurred "about the same period" as his, which is certainly incorrect, we have ground for thinking that he inferred their proximity in time simply from the fact that the three tracts were "in the same volume." (Cp. *Euseb.* 136 f., 167 f.)

Metrodorus] The companion in martyrdom of Pionius. Cp. v. 16. 21.

47 *Pionius*] A Latin version of the Martyrdom of Pionius was printed in *AA.SS.*, February, i. 37 and elsewhere. A copy of its underlying Greek text is preserved in the Library of St. Mark's, Venice. Full use of the latter was made for the first time by J. A. F. Gregg, now Archbishop of Dublin, who gives an account of its contents, translating the more important passages (*Decian Persecution*, p. 249 ff.). It was edited by O. von Gebhardt in *A.M.S.*, p. 96. A second Latin recension, differing from that just mentioned, was published by Ruinart (p. 140). In spite of the opinion expressed by Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 716), we venture to regard it as a later, expurgated recension. It suppresses for example the name of the apostate bishop, Euctemon (*Mart. Pion.* 15. 2; 16. 1), and a passage which reports his unseemly activities (*ib.* 18.

12 ff.). Euctemon's fellow-apostate Lepidus (*ib.* 15. 2; 16. 2–5; 18. 1) disappears from the story. So also does Pionius's kindly dealing with other *lapsi* (*ib.* 12. 2; 14. 16), of which Eusebius makes special mention; nor are we told that Metrodorus was a Marcionite (*ib.* 21. 5 : see § 46). The *Martyrdom* is dated both in the opening and closing chapters (2, 23) in the reign of Decius, and in the latter place (where the text is very corrupt) in the year 250. These passages may have been later additions, or at any rate not in Eusebius's copy. Otherwise his mistake in placing the martyrdom under the Antonines is inexplicable. The later date is supported by the whole narrative of *Mart. Pion.* (Lightfoot, *l.c.*, 721 f.), but most plainly by the statement (9. 4) that one of the companions of Pionius was a slave, who had escaped from her mistress in the reign of Gordian (238–244).

15. 47 *kindly help*, etc.] Cp. vi. 42. 5 f.

the Martyrdoms of the Ancients] This lost treatise, the title of which seems to have been *A Collection of the Ancient Martyrdoms*, evidently contained the text of Acts of Martyrs in the early centuries, including those of Pionius, the Gallican martyrs under Marcus Aurelius (v. Pref. 2; 4. 3), Apollonius (v. 21. 5), and probably Polycarp, but not apparently Carpus and his companions (§ 48).

48 *following this*] *i.e.*, in the volume which contained Polycarp's Martyrdom (§ 46, note).

Carpus, etc.] The genuine Acts of these martyrs were first edited by Aubé in the *Revue Archéologique* from a Paris manuscript (cod. Gr. 1468) in 1881. Harnack re-edited it in 1888 with notes and a discussion of the date (*T.U.* iii. 4). The text is also included in Gebhardt's *A.M.S.* (p. 13). The martyrdom occurred when there were two Augusti (*Acta* 4, 21). This points to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (14. 10, note); and Harnack contends that this period is indicated by many other features of the narrative. Thus Eusebius appears to have dated it correctly. But it is impossible to believe that he did so on the ground of the chronological data which the Acts exhibit. He reached a right conclusion from insufficient evidence (cp. § 46, note).

Agathonice] Carpus and Papylus were condemned and executed in due form of law. Agathonice was burnt at her own desire, without the intervention of the magistrate. Cp. viii. 12. 3, note.

16. 1 *in their day*] κατὰ τούτους : in the time of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Verus (14. 10), or more probably in that of the martyrs mentioned in c. 15.

a second book] *Apol.* ii, which Eusebius places under Marcus Aurelius (cp. 13. 1–7, note).

in consequence of the plot] This is a mere inference from the statement of Justin quoted in § 3, and the remark of Tatian

in § 8. Justin's martyrdom took place not earlier than 163 (8. 3, note), and his second Apology was written not later than February 161 (note, p. 140).

16. 1 *again and again refuted Crescens*] See § 5, where, however, it is not said that the discussions were frequent.

2 *the aforesaid Apology*] The "second book" of § 1.

6 *saying of Socrates*] The saying, which Eusebius omits, is "But assuredly a man (ἀνήρ) is not to be honoured more than truth" (Plato, *Repub.* x. 1). The context in Plato shows that the "man" was Homer.

7 *Tatian*] See cc. 28, 29.

the aforesaid] Apparently the demons. The purpose of the quotation is not evident. It is probably misplaced.

8 *for example*] In the previous sentence Tatian accuses the philosophers of proclaiming their contempt of death and their independence of others, and yet belying these principles by accepting large sums of money from the emperor for no good purpose.

Justin, as though, etc.] The edited text of Tatian has Ἰουστῖνον καθάπερ καὶ ἐμὲ οὗς κακῷ, which is untranslatable. But it seems to imply that the plots of Crescens were directed against Tatian as well as Justin. If so, they were unsuccessful in regard to the former, and therefore not improbably in regard to the latter also. Cp. § 1, third note.

17. 1 *the former Apology*] The reference is not, as might be expected, to *Apol.* i, but to *Apol.* ii, which he proceeds to quote. The word "former" may be a *lapsus calami*.

8 *Urbicius*] Quintus Lollius Urbicus, prefect of the city. His term of office according to Zahn (*Forsch.* vi. 11 ff.) began in or after 150 and ended in or before March 161.

12 *the emperor Pius, or the philosopher the son of Cæsar*] The text is corrupt. "The son of Cæsar" can only mean Commodus (14. 10, note); but he was born after the death of Pius, and he was not a philosopher. The MSS. of the Apology read "the son of Cæsar the philosopher," which suits Verus (c. 12, second note). But both readings omit Marcus Aurelius, who must have been included in the appeal. Schwartz adopts the view of Valois, who supposes that some words have fallen out by homœoteleuton, and that the original text ran, "the emperor Pius, or the philosopher Cæsar, or the son of Cæsar the philosopher." Cp. c. 12, notes. Eusebius may have inferred from his faulty text that there were two reigning emperors, and have identified them with Marcus Aurelius and Verus (14. 10, note). But the title Pius was never given to Marcus Aurelius in his life-time (Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 663).

18. 1 *many monuments*] Of the nine works of Justin mentioned in this chapter as accessible to Eusebius only three are now certainly extant, the two Apologies (§ 2) and the Dialogue

(§§ 6–8). The first treatise Against the Greeks (§ 3) has been identified with the *Oratio ad Græcos* (Otto. ii. 1 ff.), but it does not tally with the description given by Eusebius. The *Refutation* (§ 4) has been identified with the *Cohortatio ad Græcos* (Otto ii. 18 ff.), in spite of the fact that it does not bear the title *Refutation*. Internal evidence is against the supposition that either of these was written by Justin. It is possible, but not probable, that the book on the Monarchy of God (§ 4) is the second part of the *De Monarchia* (Otto ii. 126 ff.). Of the books called *Harper* and *On the Soul* (§ 5) nothing is known. Justin wrote treatises against Marcion (§ 9), and against all Heresies (11. 10 and note). But they are no longer extant. The standard edition of Justin's works, genuine and spurious, is that of Otto (1876–1881); E. T. in *A.N.L.* ii. 1–361.

18. 2 *one book of his*] The first Apology. For the date see note, p. 140.

another] *Apol.* ii. Eusebius puts it in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. For his reasons for so doing see 13. 1–7, note and 17. 12, note. But it certainly belongs to the later years of Antoninus Pius. For its date see note, p. 140.

6 *Dialogue against the Jews*] This is the longest writing of Justin, though it seems to be incomplete (Zahn, in *Z.K.G.* viii. 37 ff.). It is shown to be later than *Apol.* i, and before 161, by a reference in c. 120 to *Apol.* i. 26: "when I held communication with Cæsar, I said that [the Samaritans] were deceived by Simon Magus." It may therefore (see note, p. 140) be dated 153–160. But it claims to be the record of a disputation—which Eusebius states here to have taken place at Ephesus (see next note)—with a Jew named Trypho. Such a colloquy as he describes could hardly have taken place after the rebellion of Bar Cochba had issued in the final and bitter estrangement between the Jews and the Christians (see 6. 1, note, and 8. 4). But Hadrian's decree of banishment is mentioned (*Dial.* 16, 92); and Trypho is represented as a fugitive from the war, who had already stayed some time at Corinth (*ib.* 1). The Colloquy may then be dated about 135.

at the city of the Ephesians] There is no other authority for this statement. But it need not be doubted. Eusebius may well have found it in the preface to the book, which is now lost (Zahn, *l.c.*, p. 45 ff.).

Trypho] Some scholars suppose that he was Rabbi Tarphon (the name, according to Schürer, is identical with *Tryphon*), whom Jewish tradition counts a martyr in the war of Bar Cochba (Schürer, ii. 1, p. 377; cp. Bardenhewer, i. 229).

9 *before the coming*, etc.] Irenæus does not name the treatise from which this comes. It may, like the preceding passage, have been taken from the treatise against Marcion.

Note on the Dates of the Apologies of Justin Martyr.

The second Apology was written in the reign of Antoninus Pius (17. 12, note), and while Q. Lollius Urbicus was prefect of the city : *i.e.* between 150 and 160 (17. 8, note). But it is obviously an appendix to, or a continuation of, the first Apology, occasioned by the conduct of Urbicus (see 17. 2–13). We may infer that the interval between the two is not very great; not more, at all events, than two or three years. Thus, taking the earliest possible date for the second Apology (150) we cannot put the first before 147. It is true that earlier writers, including Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 478), have placed it as early as 140, arguing mainly from the inscription. The inscription, in fact, as it stands implies about the year 139. But, as we have seen (c. 12, note), a reasonable emendation of the text leaves us free to assign it to any year between 139 and 160. Against so early a date as 140 is the fact that one of the three persons to whom the Apology was presented—Lucius Verus—was then a child of nine years old (see c. 10, note). If we bring the date to 147 or later this difficulty becomes less formidable.

Assuming, then, that the first Apology was written between 147 and the end of the reign of Antoninus, its date may be fixed within still narrower limits. In *Apol.* 29 Justin refers to one Felix, prefect of Egypt, who was apparently in office when he wrote, or shortly before. Now a papyrus in the British Museum mentions a prefect named Minutias Felix, whose immediate predecessor was Honoratus (*Cat. of Greek Papyri in B.M.*, ii. 171). This Honoratus may safely be identified with Marcus Petronius Honoratus, who was in office 28 Jan. 148 (Berlin Papyrus 265); and Felix with Lucius Munatius Felix, whose name occurs on an inscription of the time of Antoninus (cited in Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 9), and with Munatius who heard a case on 13 Sept. 151 (*Oxyr. Pap.*, pt. ii, no. 237, col. 8, ll. 18–21, with notes, p. 174 f.). From Berlin papyri 372, 696 we learn that Marcus Sempronius Liberalis was prefect on 29 Aug. 154 and in 156. It follows that the term of office of L. Munatius Felix ended between 151 and 154. No doubt he was the prefect referred to by Justin. Accordingly the Apology may be dated about 152. This is in fact the date reached by Harnack on other grounds (*Chron.* i. 274 ff.).

The second Apology, as we have seen, was somewhat later, perhaps 153 or 154.

19. *Soter*] The year of his accession seems to have been *c.* 166. See Introd. p. 44, col. 3.

20. *Theophilus*] See c. 24.

21. *Hegesippus*] See c. 22.
Dionysius] See c. 23.
Pinytus] See 23. 7, 8.
Philip] See c. 25.
Apollinarius] See 26. 1; 27.
Melito] See c. 26.
Musanus] See c. 28.
Modestus] See c. 25.
Irenæus] See v. 26, note.

22. 1 *the epistle of Clement*] Eusebius' purpose in quoting Hegesippus at this point is to show the unanimity of the bishops regarding the true faith in the second century. He consequently omits much of what Hegesippus said, and in particular, to our great loss, what he said about Clement's epistle. But we know (iii. 16) that he mentioned the faction which produced it; and, if Epiph., *Hær.* 27. 6 is based on the *Memoirs*, he quoted at least one passage from the epistle. Eusebius represents him as calling it "the epistle of Clement," but it would be unsafe to infer that he used words which implied that Clement wrote the letter: Eusebius' paraphrases are not always accurate.

2 *Primus*] Of this bishop nothing is known. It has been assumed that he was a contemporary of Hegesippus. But for this there is no ground. He is mentioned as the bishop in whose time heresy first arose in Corinth, just as Symeon is recorded to have been the bishop under whom heresy appeared at Jerusalem (§ 4 f.).

With them] The reference can hardly be to "the Corinthians"; and, in his introductory paraphrase (§ 1), Eusebius implies that the word "them" indicates bishops whom Hegesippus met on his journey. Hence we conclude that a portion of the passage, containing a notice of these bishops, has been omitted.

3 *a succession-list*] διαδοχή. Cp. v. 12. 2. That is the only possible rendering of the printed text, and there is no real ground to suppose that the text is corrupt. Lightfoot seems to have proved conclusively that the "succession-list" referred to is that which is found in Epiph., *Hær.* 27. 6. In immediate connexion with the catalogue of bishops in Epiphanius there is a note: "And there came to us (*sic*) one Marcellina, who had been deceived by them (*sc.* the Carpocratians). She was the ruin of many in the time of Anicetus bishop of Rome." Epiphanius has copied this from a writing of a little later date than Anicetus, in which he has not even deleted the tell-tale "to us." Iren., i. 25. 6, has it almost word for word, but omitting "to us." Hence

Epiphanius and Irenæus used a common source. What can the source have been but the *Memoirs?* A comparison of the contexts in Epiphanius and Irenæus reveals other passages in both which are doubtless based on the same work. For discussions see Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 327 ff.; Harnack, *Chron.* i. 180 ff.; Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 258 ff.

22. 4–6 It appears that this passage has been badly handled in the process of transcription, and that much of it has been omitted of set purpose. But see Hort, *Jud. Christ.*, p. 170 f. (1) After the words "the same account" there may have been some such clause as "and Jerusalem had been taken." See the paraphrase in iii. 11. If so, this was probably omitted *per incuriam*. (2) The word "again" (πάλιν) causes difficulty. In the text as printed it is naturally connected with "was appointed" (καθίσταται): "Symeon was again appointed." This is obviously impossible, and other explanations (such as are offered by Lightfoot, *Gal.*, p. 276 f. and Zahn, *Forsch.* vi. 237) are unsatisfactory (see *Euseb.*, p. 18 f.). It is best to suppose that Eusebius marked a clause or two for omission, and that the transcriber, mistaking the marks, wrote a word which he was instructed to omit. Similar mistakes are made in ii. 17. 17; iv. 8. 2. The omitted passage (see iii. 11) stated that the electors assembled at Jerusalem, and probably began, πάλιν συνέρχονται οἱ ἀπόστολοι κτλ.: "the apostles (and others) again assembled" etc. (3) After "a cousin of the Lord" there seems to be another lacuna, the justification of that phrase as applied to Symeon (iii. 11) having been passed over. (4) We find a difficulty in the phrase "For this reason." For what reason? No answer (*pace* Zahn, *l.c.*) is forthcoming in the context as we have it here. But iii. 32. 7 f. (see notes there) is partly based on the clause, "For this reason they used to call the church a virgin," and it tells us what we want to know. The church was called a virgin because it was free from overt heresy. If a sentence is inserted to the effect that there was no public teaching of false doctrine, the whole extract becomes intelligible. If it be asked why Eusebius deliberately passed over so much of the passage which lay before him, the answer is plain. He doubtless desired to avoid needless repetition. At all events at this point his interest is not in the appointment of Symeon itself, but the rise of heresy at Jerusalem (cp. § 2) of which it was the occasion. Accordingly he omits everything which does not bear directly on that subject.

4 *on the same account*] *i.e.* for preaching the Gospel. The phrase (ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ) is used in a different sense in iii. 32. 6.

the church] The church of Jerusalem.

5 *Thebuthis*] Thebuthis was evidently a rival candidate for the bishopric, who had a considerable following. The unanimity of the electors therefore does not imply unanimity

of the entire community. Cp. iii. 11, note. The name Thebuthis is very rare. Professor Burkitt directs our attention to a certain Thebuthi, the father of a priest named Jesus who escaped from Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and gave some of the temple vessels to Titus (Jos., *B.J.* vi. 8. 3). Can the father of Jesus be the Thebuthis of the text?

22. 5 *the seven sects*] See § 7. It is remarkable that Gnostic heresy entered Christian circles in Palestine through Jewish channels.

Simon] Note that Hegesippus places Simon after Thebuthis, and therefore a considerable time after the Simon of Acts viii (Merrill, p. 298). See ii. 13, note.

Cleobius] Nothing is known of this heretic. For the known allusions to him see Lightfoot, *Ign.* iii. 162 and *D.C.B.* i. 578.

Dositheus] The first heresiarch mentioned in the *Syntagma* of Hippolytus (vi. 22, note, p. 212). A pre-Christian heretic. He was a Samaritan. See *D.C.B.* i. 902; *E.R.E.* xi. 332.

Gorthæus] Of him and his sect nothing is known.

Masbotheans] Otherwise unknown. They are mentioned in § 7 (see note) as a Jewish sect.

Menandrianists] See iii. 26.

Marcianists] See cc. 10, 11.

Carpocratians] See 7. 9.

Valentinians] See c. 10.

Basilidians] See 7. 3, 6–8.

Satornilians] See 7. 3, 4.

7 *The sects . . . among the Jews*] Four Jewish "philosophies" are mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 2, 6): Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and a more recent sect founded by Judas the Galilæan or Gaulonite (Acts v. 37). The last of these is probably identical with the "Galilæans" of the text. On the Essenes see Lightfoot's dissertation in his *Col.*, 349 ff. The Hemerobaptists, who are mentioned (though not usually by that name) in several Christian lists of Jewish sects (*Clem. Recog.* i. 54, 63, cp. *Hom.* ii. 23; Just., *Dial.* 80; *Const. Ap.* vi. 6. 5; Epiph. *Anaceph.*, pp. 228, 236), probably came into existence after Josephus's list was written, as a result of the preaching of John the Baptist. They are apparently the same as the Hebrew sect of Toble-shacharith, "morning-bathers" (Lightfoot, *l.c.*, 402). The Masbotheans (cp. § 5) are mentioned in *Const. Ap.* vi. 6. 4, and described as men "who deny Providence, saying that the things which exist have been formed by spontaneous generation, and do away with the immortality of the soul." That the Samaritans might not improperly be described as a Jewish sect, see Schürer ii. 1, p. 8.

8 *Gospel of the Hebrews*] See iii. 25. 5.

the Syriac Gospel] This seems to be the only possible rendering. But what is meant by the "Syriac Gospel" is not known. Harnack's suggestion is that "the Gospel of the

Hebrews" indicates a Greek translation, and "the Syriac" the original text of the same (*Chron.* i. 639 f.).

22. 8 *from writings in the Hebrew tongue*] Or "from the Hebrew tongue," which Hort (*Jud. Christ.* 165) explains as "apparently detached Hebrew words."

of Hebrew origin] This inference from the facts mentioned, and from Hegesippus' interest in, and knowledge of, the history of the church of Jerusalem—then evidently an obscure Christian community, about which Eusebius had failed to obtain information from any other source—is probably correct. "What became of [the Hebrew-Christian community at Jerusalem] after its expulsion by Hadrian, we know not. Probably enough it found some new Pella, one or many; and this seems to be on the whole the most probable solution of the question about Hegesippus' education. He may well have sprung from some city which harboured a part of the Jerusalem church, and thus by birth, though not by locality, he would have its traditions for his own" (Hort, *Jud. Christ.* 180).

Jewish tradition] Including no doubt the tradition of Hebrew Christians. Cp. 5. 2; iii. 11.

9 *All-virtuous Wisdom*] On this term see Lightfoot, *Clem.* ii. 166. It does not seem to occur in the extant writings of Irenæus.

23. 1 *Dionysius*] We know nothing of Dionysius apart from this chapter. From it we learn that he was a man of high repute throughout the entire Church. As to his date we know only that he was a contemporary of the Roman bishop Soter (§ 9), and that he died before the Paschal controversy began (*c.* 190), when Bacchyllus was bishop of Corinth (v. 23. 4).

catholic epistles] That Eusebius found the nine epistles mentioned in the following sections collected in a single roll seems clear (*Euseb.*, 147 f.). That the collection was made by Dionysius himself is intimated by the note (§ 12) which appears to have followed his Epistle to the Romans; for it refers, not to that letter only, but to a series of letters written by the same hand. We gather from it that Dionysius' letters to individual churches had been widely circulated, and that what he wrote had been altered in the interests of heretical teachers. In self-defence he published the correct form; and thus they became the property of the whole Church, and deserved the title "Catholic Epistles," which no doubt stood over them in Eusebius' manuscript. Possibly, however, they were called "catholic" merely because they were addressed to communities rather than to individuals. Cp. v. 18. 5, note. Obviously additions had been made to the collection after its publication. For the letter of Pinytus (§ 8) can hardly have been originally included; and the letter

to Chrysophora (§ 13) seems to have followed the note, which must originally have been at the close.

23. 2 *Publius*] On the assumption that this letter was written under Marcus Aurelius, as was that to the Romans (§ 9), it would be plausible to suppose that Publius was a confessor (or was martyred) in the persecution which seems to have taken place under Antoninus Pius (26. 10). But the letter may have been written many years before the Epistle to the Romans; and the martyrdom of Publius was probably still earlier (see next note).

3 *Quadratus*] Probably not the apologist-prophet, who seems to have been an Asian (3. 1, note). The context (§ 2) seems to show that the "re-kindling" of faith at Athens under Quadratus had not produced a permanent result. The church there had again declined, and possibly Quadratus was dead when Dionysius wrote. He may therefore have been a contemporary of the apologist, and Publius the reputed successor of the Areopagite.

5 *Gortyna*] In Crete.

6 *Palmas*] See v. 23. 3.

marriage] The Marcionites proscribed marriage (Tert., *Marc.* i. 29). Thus Dionysius in his letter to the churches of Pontus, the native country of Marcion, was probably arguing against that heresy, as he did in his letter to the Nicomedians (§ 4) in the neighbouring province of Bithynia.

7 *included*] ἐγκατείλεκται. A word which Eusebius uses elsewhere of treatises brought together in volumes. Cp. iii. 24. 2; 38. 2; v. 4. 3.

Cnossians] Cnossus was in Crete.

9 *passages*] For another extract from their letter see ii. 25. 8.

10 *brethren in the mines*] This form of charity was not peculiar to the Roman church: see Tert., *Apol.* 39; *M.P.* 10. 1; 11. 6; 13. 1 (L).

ye observe] See vii. 5. 2 and note.

11 *epistle of Clement*] This implies that Clement composed the epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians (iii. 16, note). But Dionysius says that it was written to them *through* Clement: which might mean that Clement was merely the amanuensis, or the bearer, of the letter (cp. vi. 46. 5).

from primitive times] This is not expressly stated in the following quotation.

your epistle] The word "your" is plural: "the epistle of you Romans." Harnack (*Chron.* i. 438–450) supposes that this is the homily formerly known as the second epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. He admits that it is not a letter, but contends that it might be called ἐπιστολή because it was a writing *sent* from Rome to Corinth. But (1) he can find no other example of that use of the word; (2) the evidence

which he adduces for its composition at Rome is far from conclusive; (3) Dionysius's words are most naturally taken to mean that the writing which had come from Rome was a letter penned in the name of the Roman Christians and therefore written in the first person plural, as was the Epistle of Clement with which it is compared—a description which does not apply to the homily; (4) the transmission of a homily, which was originally intended for a Roman congregation, to a distant church is improbable in itself, and is without parallel (unless, indeed, we suppose, with R. Perdelwitz, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is a homily preached in Asia Minor, and sent thence to Italy. See *Zeitsch. f. N.T. Wissensch.*, 1910, pp. 59 ff., 105 ff.). Moreover, (5) the fact that the reply was addressed to bishop Soter (§ 9) suggests that the epistle was composed by him. Finally (6) Harnack's hypothesis necessitates a date for the homily as late as *c.* 170, which, if it is barely possible, is not suggested by the internal evidence. Dr. Rendel Harris has recently proposed that the author of the homily was Julius Cassianus (vi. 13. 7, note): see *Zeitsch. f. N.T. Wissenschaft*, 1924, p. 193. Cp. iii. 38. 4, note.

23. 11 *obtain admonition*] The cognate substantive occurs in the extract given in ii. 25. 8: evidently the Roman letter was of an admonitory character.

12 *the brethren desired*] Cp. § 6.

Dominical Scriptures] κυριακῶν γραφῶν. Cp. iii. 39. 1. The phrase seems to mean the New Testament books, obviously including the Revelation, to which allusion is made (see footnote).

writings that do not class as such] His own epistles.

24. *Theophilus*] The earliest bishop of Antioch, with the exception of Ignatius (iii. 36), of whom we know more than the name. He was a Syrian, for he says that the rivers Tigris and Euphrates were in the neighbourhood of his region (*ad Autol.* ii. 24); and he had been converted from heathenism to Christianity in his manhood (*ib.* i. 14). He wrote his only extant work about 182 (see next note), and *may* then have been bishop, though in it he does not indicate that he held any ecclesiastical office (*ib.* iii. 1). He died before 191 (see note below on Maximin).

To Autolycus] This apology for the faith is the only surviving work of Theophilus. The work *Against Hermogenes*, the *Catechetical Books*, and the treatise *Against Marcion*, here mentioned, together with a work called *On Histories*, to which he refers several times (*ad Autol.* ii. 28, 30, 31; iii. 3, 19), are lost. So also are the commentaries on Proverbs and the Gospels, of the authenticity of which Jerome expresses doubt (*V.I.* 25), though he quotes a passage from the Gospel commentary without hesitation (*Ep.* 121. 6: cp. *Matt.*, Pref.).

For a supposed Latin version of the commentary on the Gospels see Sanday in *Studia Biblica*, i, p. 89 ff. The date of the *Apology to Autolycus* is determined as somewhat early in the reign of Commodus by the facts that he closes a chronological passage (*ad Autol.* iii. 27) on the Roman Emperors by giving the exact length of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and that in the same chapter he refers to the tables of Chryserus, which, as he tells us, recorded the history of Rome up to the death of that Emperor. If it be true that Irenæus, writing about 185 (*Hær.* iii. 35. 2; iv. 62; v. 23. 1), borrowed from *Ad Autol.* ii. 25 f., the date can hardly be much later than 182. But Harnack (*T.U.* i. 2, p. 294) suggests that Irenæus was using the treatise against Marcion, which may have been earlier than *Ad Autol.*

24. *Maximin*] The date of his accession, according to the *Chronicle* (p. 289), is 178. But this is probably wrong (see previous note). The date given for the appointment of his successor Serapion (p. 291), 191, seems to be right. See Harnack, *Chron.* i. 211 f.

25. All the treatises here mentioned are lost. Nothing is known of Modestus.

26. 1 *Melito*] Melito, bishop of Sardis, was a voluminous writer (§ 2), a man of great influence, and revered for his holiness of life (v. 24. 5). But of the incidents of his career we know little. He was engaged in literary activity in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (§§ 3, 7, notes) and died, as we may infer from the letter of Polycrates (v. 24. 5), some years before 190. From that letter we may infer that he died a natural death. In the *Little Labyrinth* (v. 28. 5) we are told that in his books he insisted on the divinity as well as the humanity of Christ. He is described by Polycrates as a eunuch, which may perhaps mean no more than that he lived in virginity (v. 24. 5, note). Tertullian sneered at him as a so-called prophet (see Jer. *V.I.* 24). On him see Salmon in *D.C.B.* iii. 894 ff.

2 *the works*] The list of Melito's works is apparently a transcript of their titles in the rolls which contained them in one of the libraries to which Eusebius had access. They are obviously divided into four groups (1–4; 5–7; 8, 9; 10–16), which may have corresponded to four distinct rolls (cp. *Euseb.*, p. 148 f.). Thus we may account for the fact that Eusebius quotes from a work not included in the list (§ 13). All the treatises mentioned in this chapter are lost. The remaining fragments of Melito have been collected by Routh, *R.S.* i. 115 ff. and Otto, *Corpus Apol.* ix. 410 ff.

On the Pascha] No doubt a defence of Quartodeciman practice. This work produced a reply from Clement of Alexandria. See § 4; vi. 13. 9.

the book on Soul and Body or Mind] One MS., the Syriac version and St. Jerome (*V.I.* 24) omit the last two words.

Possibly they were a gloss on ψυχῆς (soul), which crept into the text.

26. 2 *that On Soul and Body*] Schwartz omits the word "that" (ὁ). We have ventured to restore it on the authority of two MSS., supported by the Syriac and Rufinus. The title "On Soul and Body" here is a duplicate. It is easily explained on the supposition that the same tract was copied in two different volumes. Jerome (*l.c.*) omits it. Schwartz holds that our treatises 9, 10, 11 are really one. But is it probable that so many heterogeneous subjects were dealt with in a single work? St. Jerome makes three distinct treatises out of our No. 9.

The Key] A Latin treatise bearing the title *Melitonis Clavis Sanctæ Scripturæ* was long supposed to have been a translation of this work. But when it was edited by Pitra in 1855 (*Spicilegium Solesmen.* ii. 1 ff.), it proved to be a mediæval composition, having no relation to Melito.

Corporeality of God] For a justification of this translation see McGiffert's note *ad loc.*

3 *the time at which he composed it*] The following quotation does not fix the time, if the text is correct. But Eusebius seems to have ended the quotation in the middle of a sentence. The context probably indicated that the work was written in the proconsulate of Paulus.

Servillius] Probably an error (cp. 9. 1, note) for Sergius (so Rufinus). Lucius Sergius Paulus was consul for the second time in 168. From this it may be inferred (see *D.C.B.* ii. 588, art. Fuscianus) that he was Prefect in 167. If so he cannot have been proconsul in the year 167 May–168 May. Nor in any of the four years 162 May–166 May; for, if Schmid's results (15. 1, note) are accepted, the proconsuls for those years are known, and his name does not appear among them. His proconsular year therefore must be 166 May–167 May, or before 162 May. The later date is probably to be preferred (see v. 24. 4, 5, note).

at the season . . . in due season] ᾧ . . . καιρῷ . . . κατὰ καιρόν. The meaning is obscure. Others translate "*at the time* when Sagaris suffered," implying that he was martyred in the year of Sergius Paulus' proconsulate. As rendered in the text Melito seems to say that the dispute took place at the *time of year* at which Sagaris suffered—*i.e.* on an anniversary of his death. So Salmon seems to take it (*D.C.B.* iii. 895 f.). "In due season" represents the sense in which Eusebius commonly uses the phrase κατὰ καιρόν. It is difficult to see how it could mean (as Salmon supposed) that the paschal full moon fell on a Sunday, and that accordingly the Quartodeciman and Catholic Easters coincided. If the paschal moon occurred on Sunday, would not the Catholic Easter Day be the *following* Sunday? According to our rendering the martyrdom of Sagaris occurred *before* the year

of office of Sergius Paulus. For the date of the martyrdom of Sagaris, see v. 24. 4, 5, note.

26. 4 *Clement*] See vi. 13. 3, note.

5 *never before*] This cannot mean that the present persecution was the first which had come upon the Church. It seems to intimate that now, for the first time since Domitian (§ 9), there was an organized persecution countenanced, or at all events not restrained, by imperial authority (§ 6. Cp. Ramsay, *R.E.*, 336). But the statement possibly gave birth to the opinion of Eusebius that there were practically no persecutions under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (cp. 13. 1–7, note).

7 *among barbarians*] *i.e.* among the Jews. Christianity is a development of the Old Testament religion. Cp. i. 4. 4 ff.

with thy son] This phrase fixes the approximate date of the Apology. Up to 169 Aurelius and his adoptive *brother* were co-Augusti (see c. 10; 14. 10, notes). From 177 on he had his *son* Commodus as co-Augustus. Since the Apology is addressed to Marcus Aurelius alone (§§ 2, 5; and note the sec. pers. sing. in §§ 6, 10, 11), it was probably presented before Commodus was appointed Augustus, but when his appointment was known to be imminent, *i.e.* in or shortly before 177.

9 *Nero and Domitian alone*] Cp. iii. 17; 20. 7.

10 *Fundanus*] See c. 9. It will be noted that the rescript to Fundanus was not the only one of its kind. It receives special mention because it had to do with Asia, the province in which Melito lived.

when thou also wast ruling] *i.e.* after 147: see c. 10, note.

Larissa] In Thessaly.

and to all the Greeks] According to Ramsay (*R.E.*, p. 331) this phrase would include Smyrna. But Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 484) seems to give it a narrower range. If Melito (as Eusebius may have supposed: see 13. 8, and note) had known of such a letter of Antoninus to the Commune Asiæ as that quoted in c. 13, he might be expected to give it at least the same prominence as the Letter to Fundanus mentioned just before. But that he does not do.

14 *come to the place*] The first recorded "pilgrimage" to Palestine. Cp. vi. 11. 2.

books of the Old Covenant] The phrase seems to imply a canon of the writings of the New Covenant.

their names] The order is peculiar (Numbers before Leviticus; the Prophets; position of Ezra): see Swete, p. 226 ff. Esther is omitted. The number of the books is twenty-one (cp. vi. 25. 2, note).

also called Wisdom] Cp. 22. 9.

27. *Apollinarius*] Claudius Apollinarius was bishop of Hierapolis (26. 1; v. 19. 2). We know very little about him. He presented an Apology to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (26. 1;

27), presumably while he was reigning without a consort, *i.e.* between 169 (or 171 : see v. 5. 4, note) and 177. His date cannot be more accurately fixed.

27. *come down to us*] Again Eusebius seems to be giving the titles of works bound in a volume. Of the four works here mentioned only a few scraps survive (Routh, *R.S.* i. 159–162). Photius (14) knew two of his writings, *Against the Greeks* and *On Piety and on Truth.* The latter seems to be the full title of the treatise in two books, which Eusebius calls *On Truth.*

to the aforesaid emperor] Marcus Aurelius. For a probable reference to this Apology see v. 5. 4.

after these] μετὰ ταῦτα. This may mean either that the treatise against the Phrygians was the last of the four treatises in the roll which lay before Eusebius ; or that it was the latest in time. If the latter be the true meaning it may be merely an inference from its position in the roll. Eusebius can hardly have had evidence sufficient to justify such a statement, and in fact it is improbable that a treatise written at the beginning of the Montanist movement should have been later than the Apology (see v. 5. 4 ; 19, notes, and note, p. 180).

heresy of the Phrygians] See v. 16–19. This treatise of Apollinarius is mentioned in v. 16. 1 ; 19. 1, 2.

28. *Musanus*] Nothing is known of him. Eusebius, who here dates him *c.* 170, puts his floruit in the *Chronicle* (p. 294) under 12 Severus (205).

Encratites] Persons who abstained from flesh and wine, and from marriage. Originally, it seems, they did not constitute a sect; Encratites were found in various heretical communities (cp. 29. 2). See *D.C.B.* ii. 118 ff.

Tatian] Tatian tells us (*Ad Græc.* 42) that he was born in Assyria, and that he was educated in Greek learning, and followed the profession of a sophist (*ib.* 35, 42). He was a traveller, and in the course of his journeys he investigated the cults of the regions which he visited. He was initiated into certain mysteries (*ib.* 29). At length he came to Rome, and there, it would seem, he was first attracted to Christianity (*ib.* 35). His conversion, as he himself says (*ib.* 29), was the result of reading the Christian Scriptures, especially the Prophets; but that his acceptance of the faith was largely due to the influence of Justin Martyr is at least probable. At any rate, whether before or after his baptism, he became one of Justin's pupils (Iren. i. 26. 1, quoted 29. 3). With him he suffered from the enmity of the Cynic Crescens (*Ad Græc.* 19, quoted 16. 8). According to Irenæus he did not lapse into heresy until after Justin's death. But his sojourn at Rome was apparently prolonged, and there are indications that some time before he left the city he had swerved from strict orthodoxy (v. 13. 8, note). With Harnack (*Chron.* i. 287 f.) we may accept the statement of the *Chronicle* (p. 288),

that his final breach with the Roman church took place in 173. This date is supported by Epiph., *Hær.* xlvi. 1. The remainder of his life seems to have been passed in Syria. The date of his death is not known. For his writings see 29. 6, 7.

29. 2 *from Satorninus*] Irenæus tells how new heresies were produced by combining elements from older systems, with the addition of fresh doctrines, and proceeds, "To mention an example, from Satorninus," etc.

4 *Severus*] Salmon (*D.C.B.* iv. 632) doubts the existence of this person. Encratite sects may have got "the Latin name of Severians from the austerity of their rule of life." The Severians described here were probably Ebionites: see § 5.

6 *Diatessaron*] This work is a harmony of the four Gospels, as Eusebius says, and as its title ("Through Four") implies. But the few notices of it in early writings (besides the present passage, *D. Addai*, p. 34; Theodoret, *H.F.* i. 20; Epiph., *Hær.* xlvi. 1) left much room for debate, and the correctness of the description of it here given was contested by many critics till the recovery of the work put the matter beyond doubt. In the year 1836 the Mechitarist monks of San Lazzaro, near Venice, published an Armenian version of the works of Ephraem Syrus. Among these was a Commentary on a Harmony of the Gospels not otherwise known. Now the Syriac writer Bar Salîbi (*c.* 1200) states that Ephraem wrote an exposition on Tatian's *Diatessaron*, adding that "its commencement was *In the beginning was the Word*." The presumption was very strong that the text enshrined in Ephraem's Commentary was that of the *Diatessaron*. It was made a certainty when it proved that the Commentary actually begins with an exposition of John i. 1. But this did not come to light for many years. At that time few scholars could read Armenian; and the Commentary of Ephraem remained practically unknown in the West till 1876, when G. Mösinger published it in a Latin dress; or rather till 1880, when Ezra Abbot, in his *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, introduced Mösinger's translation to the learned world. In the next year Zahn published a valuable treatise on Tatian's *Diatessaron* (*Forsch.* i), which had the result of largely increasing our knowledge. He called attention to an Arabic copy of the *Diatessaron* in the Vatican Library, which had been strangely neglected, and which he himself had not seen (*Forsch.* i. 294 ff.). The upshot was the publication in 1888 by A. Ciasca of an edition of the complete *Diatessaron* in Arabic, based on the MS. mentioned and another which was brought from Egypt in 1886. The *Diatessaron* was first made accessible to English readers by the late Dr. Samuel Hemphill (*The Diatessaron of Tatian*, 1888). J. Hamlyn Hill published a more complete English edition (*The Earliest Life of Christ*,

1894; which was followed by another, translated by H. W. Hogg (*A.N.L.*, Add. vol. 1897, pp. 33 ff.).

29. 6 *I know not how*] From this phrase some have inferred that Eusebius had not seen the *Diatessaron*. But it may convey, not the ignorance of the writer, but his astonishment at the maladroitness of Tatian. See Lightfoot, *S.R.* 278, and Zahn's criticism in *Forsch.* i. 14 f.

it is said, etc.] This may imply a work of Tatian on the Epistles of St. Paul ("the apostle"). But the inference is uncertain; and here Eusebius' authority is mere hearsay.

7 *treatises*] Among these were a book *On Animals* (*Ad. Græc.* 15), one *On perfection according to the Saviour* (Clem., *Strom.* iii. 12. 81) and his *Problems* (v. 13. 8).

Against the Greeks] Still extant. Usually cited as *Oratio ad. Græcos*. It is an Apology for Christianity. Its date is not easily determined. On the one hand the references to Crescens and Justin (16. 7, 8) seem to suggest that it was written not long after Justin's second Apology; Harnack, in fact, places it before 155 (*Chron.* i. 284 ff.). On the other hand the same references appear to look back to Justin's death: accordingly Bardenhewer (i. 270) prefers the date *c.* 165.

30. *Bardesanes*] Bar Hebræus informs us that Bardaisan was born on 11 July 154, and that he was 68 years old when he died (222). He was therefore still a youth, and probably a heathen, when Tatian returned to Syria; and he was only 26 years of age when Marcus Aurelius died. Eusebius therefore puts his floruit too early. He was probably misled by the superscription to the book On Fate (§ 2); supposing Antoninus to be Marcus Aurelius. Of Bardaisan we know comparatively little. See Hort's article on him in *D.C.B.* i. 250, and Harnack, *Überlief.* 184 ff.; *Chron.* ii. 128 ff.

against the Marcionites] Hippolytus bears witness to the controversy. He says that an Assyrian, named Prepon, wrote a treatise against Bardaisan in defence of Marcion (*Ref.* vii. 31).

he was a powerful defender of the faith] This statement is qualified in § 3 (cp. Eus., *Theoph.* iv. 30). But Eusebius regards Bardaisan as at least tolerably orthodox in his later years. Yet there must have been in the system of Bardaisan, "the teacher of Mani," as Ephraim the Syrian calls him (C. W. Mitchell, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, i, p. xxxii; cp. vii. 31. 2, note, below), much which Eusebius would have called deadly error. His cosmogony was heretical, and he did not believe in the resurrection of the body (Mitchell, ii, p. cxxii ff.). We may conclude that Eusebius' knowledge of Bardaisan's teaching was scanty.

2 *dialogue of his On Fate, to Antoninus*] In his *Præp. Ev.* (vi. 10) Eusebius quotes a passage, which he introduces

thus : " I will give you the proofs of these things (he had been discoursing on Fate) from (ἐξ) a Syrian . . . Bardesanes by name, who is related in his Dialogues with his friends to have spoken in this fashion." It was naturally supposed that he quoted from the dialogue *On Fate* mentioned here. But the assumption may not be correct. The tract from which he quoted was discovered in the British Museum by Dr. Cureton and published by him in his *Spicilegium Syriacum* (1855) with E.T. There is also an E.T. in *A.N.L.* xxii. 2, p. 85. It is a Syriac work, bearing the title, *The Laws of Countries*. But it might have been more appropriately called *On Fate*, though its real subject is Free Will. It was probably written after Bardaisan's death by one of his pupils, named Philip. But Bardaisan is represented as the chief—almost the only—speaker; and Eusebius does not expressly say that the dialogue on fate was actually written out by Bardaisan. The difficulty of identifying the tract *On Fate* with the book on the *Laws of Countries* arises from the fact that in the latter there is no reference to a person named Antoninus : Bardaisan's opponent was Avida. Hort (*D.C.B.* i. 256) attempted, with small success, to get rid of this difficulty. Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 131) contends that the *Laws of Countries* was originally written in Greek, while Eusebius asserts that the Greek text of the dialogue *On Fate* was a translation of the Syriac.

30. 2 *the persecution of that day*] It seems impossible to say what persecution this was. But Epiphanius (*Hær.* lvi. 1) tells us that Bardaisan was a confessor, and he is certainly not indebted to Eusebius for his information.

3 *the Valentinian school*] From many of the sources we learn that Bardaisan was for some time a Valentinian. But they differ on the question whether Valentinianism was his later or (as Eusebius says) his earlier phase.

Pref. 1. *Soter*] This clause is repeated from the end of Book iv. Cp. iii. 1. 1, note. Soter's rule, according to the *Chronicle* (p. 287), lasted from 169 to 178. The true dates are perhaps somewhat earlier. See Introd. p. 44, col. 3.

In this year] Or "at this time," *i.e.* in the episcopate of Eleutherus. In the *Chronicle* (p. 287) the persecution is placed under 7 Marcus (168).

2 *Collection of Martyrs*] See iv. 15. 47, note.

1. 1 *Lyons*] Λούγδουνος. Augustus divided Gaul into four provinces. The first of these was the old Roman "Provincia," the sea coast of which extended from the Pyrenees to the Alps, known as Narbonensis. It was a senatorial province. The remainder—the sphere of Cæsar's conquests—contained the provinces of Aquitania, Lugdunensis and Belgica: "the three Gauls." These were imperial provinces. Lugdunum, at the junction of the Rhone and the Saone, close to the border of Narbonensis, was the capital of imperial Gaul, and in the time of Marcus Aurelius was the greatest city in Europe after Rome. It was a burgess colony—the only one in Gaul—and, though it was geographically in the Provincia Lugdunensis, the governor of which resided there, it stood apart in its administration from all the three provinces. There, on 1 August, B.C. 12, an altar to Rome and the genius of the Emperor was set up. The diet of the three Gauls elected each year the priest who offered the sacrifice on that day, and presided over the festal games which accompanied it (see Mommsen, *Prov.* i. 84 ff.). The diet of the three Gauls and its president performed functions similar to those of the *Commune Asiæ* and the Asiarch (iv. 12, note); and as Polycarp's martyrdom took place on the occasion of the festival of the *Commune Asiæ*, so it is probable that the martyrdoms recorded in this chapter were connected with the festival of the three Gauls at Lyons (cp. § 47). The festival was still observed in the third century (Dion Cassius, 54. 32).

Vienne] Βίεννα. Vienne was about sixteen miles south of Lugdunum, on the Rhone and in the provincia Narbonensis. It was therefore outside the Three Gauls.

3 *Vienne and Lyons*] The order of the names seems to show that the letter was written at Vienne, the Christian community of which was perhaps older and more important than that of Lyons (cp. § 13).

to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia] That this letter was addressed to the Asians and Phrygians is explained by the fact that the Church in Southern Gaul consisted mainly of

Christians who had emigrated from Asia Minor. This is proved by several notices in the letter itself (§§ 17, 49), by the Greek names of some of the martyrs (§§ 9, 17, 25, 29; cp. 4. 3, note), and by the history of Irenæus (c. 26, note). For an attempt by J. W. Thompson to show that the letter is either a forgery or a composition of the latter part of the third century, see *American Journal of Theology*, xvi. 359 ff. Bardenhewer (ii. 675) gives references to replies by Harnack and others.

1. 4–8 These sections describe an onslaught of the populace on the Christians leading up to the Preliminary Examination before the military and civic authorities.

4 *here*] ἐνθάδε. The persecution seems to have taken place at Lyons (§§ 17, 29, 47), though the letter was probably written from Vienne. Possibly the word may indicate the district which included both towns. Cp. § 13. In § 47 it means at Lyons.

8 *tribune*] Apparently the commander of the garrison. For the garrison at Lyons see Mommsen, *Prov.*, i. 88.

until the governor's arrival] Compare the words of Pionius (iv. 15. 47) at Smyrna, when he and his companions were imprisoned, and an attempt was made to bring them out in order to compel them to sacrifice: "It is the right of those who have been cast into prison to await trial by the proconsul" (*Mart. Pion.* 15). The "governor" was presumably the governor of Provincia Lugdunensis, who resided at Lyons.

9–44 The First Examination before the governor, leading up to his letter to the emperor.

9 *Vettius Epagathus*] The former of the two names is Roman, the latter Greek. Epagathus seems to have been beheaded (4. 3, note).

10 *the inheritance of the martyrs*] The word "inheritance" (κλῆρος) is similarly used in §§ 26, 48. Ign., *Trall.* 12, *Rom.* 1, *Philad.* 5 has it in the same sense.

being called the advocate] Rufinus takes this to mean that he was so named by the governor, which seems to be right. The word παράκλητος is here used in its legal sense. In the next clause, where the writer shows that Epagathus has a right to the name, it has the meaning of "Comforter," as in the fourth Gospel.

having the Advocate] It is scarcely possible that one who was in sympathy with Montanism could have written thus. Cp. note, p. 180. We may even find in the words a gentle rebuke of Montanist teaching about the Paraclete (see de Labriolle, *Crise*, p. 227). Perhaps we should here follow a reading which Schwartz rejects, and translate "having the Advocate, the Spirit, in greater measure than Zacharias."

was and is] At first sight this seems to imply that Epagathus was still alive, and therefore rather a confessor than a martyr. But this does not harmonize with the quotation

which follows; and Ignatius regards the martyr's death as the beginning of his discipleship (Ign., *Rom.* 4). Cp. 4. 3 note.

1. 11 *divided*] As athletes, before the contest, were proved, and divided into two classes, those who were eligible, and those who were not (Valois).

abortions] The metaphor is explained in § 45.

13 *established*] It would seem that the foundation of the churches was recent. Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* ii. 32) states that Christianity had been accepted in Gaul shortly before this persecution. But see de Labriolle, *Crise* 217, note 2.

14 *we should all be sought out*] This procedure was contrary to the rule laid down by Trajan (iii. 33. 2). The seeking out of Christians was a marked feature of the persecution under Marcus Aurelius. See iv. 26. 5, and, for other evidence, Ramsay, *R.E.* 336 f.

falsely accused us, etc.] Cp. § 25 f.; ix. 5. 2; Tert. *Apol.* 2, and Mayor's notes thereon.

17 *from Vienne*] This seems to imply that the scene of the persecution was not in Vienne, and was therefore at Lyons. But the phrase (ἀπὸ B.) is not decisive.

baptized] Literally "enlightened."

Attalus] A Greek name, held by three kings of Pergamum. The other names in this group are Latin.

22 *bedewed*] The word is used in a similar connexion by Ignatius (*Magn.* 14).

25 *Biblis*] A Greek name. She was apparently beheaded (4. 3, note).

26 *may not eat*] The rule of Acts xv. 20, 29 was regarded as binding, and it was construed, not as a moral, but a ceremonial precept. Cp. Octavius, refuting similar slanders (Min. Fel. 30): "So far are we from partaking human blood that we do not even allow blood of edible animals in our food."

29 *Pothinus*] His name is apparently Greek. This feeble man could scarcely have been brought from Lyons to Vienne for examination: which suggests that the trials took place at Lyons. Pothinus was born not later than A.D. 88 (5. 8, note), and he was probably an emigrant from Asia. It is therefore quite possible that he saw St. John in his childhood, and knew Polycarp in later life.

31 *who the God . . . was*] Some such question seems to have been usual. For example, Pionius and his companions were asked severally: "Whom do you worship?" or "What sort of God do you worship?" (*Mart. Pion.* 8 f.).

35 *perfumed*] Cp. iv. 15. 37.

unsightly] δυσειδεῖς. Lightfoot (*Ign.* ii. 73) conjectures δυσώδεις, "of ill odour."

38 *rounds*] κλήρων. The competitors in games were divided into pairs by lot (κλῆρος), the members of each pair competing against each other. The victors in the several pairs were

again paired, and so on until only two were left. The final two competed against one another for the crown (Valois). The word κλῆρος is used again in this sense of "round" in § 42; but with a different meaning in §§ 10, 26, 48.

1. 38 *the gauntlet of scourges*] The meaning is not clear. Valois quotes *Acta Perpetuæ* 18 by way of illustration. When Perpetua and others were being brought into the amphitheatre "the enraged multitude demanded with shouts that they should be scourged," or, as the Latin has it, "that they should be tormented with scourges *pro ordine venatorum*." This seems to imply that those who were condemned to fight with beasts were usually scourged before the contest. Cp. viii. 7. 1.

39 *from the very first*] See § 20.

40 *sacrificed*] Perhaps killed by a confector. Cp. iv. 15. 38.

41 *cross-wise in earnest prayer*] Cp. viii. 7. 4. Min. Fel. 29: "We see the sign of the cross when one, with outstretched hands, worships God."

42 *none of the wild beasts*, etc.] This seems to have been not unusual. Ignatius (*Rom.* 5) mentions it as having occurred in some cases. Cp. viii. 7. 2 ff.; *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, 28; *Acta Tarachi*, 10.

rounds] See § 38, note.

44 *to Cæsar*] For the reply see § 47. This shows that the persecution was sanctioned by Marcus Aurelius himself. In the previous reign persecution seems to have been sporadic, and directed by local magistrates under the ordinary law. Note that the governor desired instructions as to all the prisoners, and not merely those who, like Attalus, were Roman citizens.

45, 46 An interval of rest.

45 *martyrs forgave*] This marks the beginning of the assumptions of the martyrs which caused so much trouble after the Decian persecution. Cp. 18. 17, and note.

the virgin mother] The Church.

47–56 The Second Examination before the governor, during the festival, and its results.

47 *the national festival*] πανηγύρεως. Apparently the annual festival of the Three Gauls at Lyons. If so, the martyrdoms took place in the last days of July and the beginning of August (see § 1, note). But the Kalendars commemorate them on 2 June. This commemoration is certainly inaccurate; for the context shows that they were not confined to a single day: it was perhaps fixed on unhistorical grounds. There is no commemoration of them in the oldest martyrologies. It should be noted that the unvarying Western tradition, according to the Kalendars, is that the martyrs named in the text suffered at Lyons. Tradition is less likely to be incorrect regarding place than regarding time.

48 *privately*] ἰδίᾳ. Others render "separately." The Scillitan martyrs were examined in the proconsul's secretarium

(*Passio SS. Scillitanorum*, in *A.M.S.*, p. 22; E.T. in *A.N.L.*, add. vol.), as were also Montanus and his companions (*ib.*p. 148), and Cyprian (*Acta procons.* 1, in Hartel, ii, p. cx) at a later period.

1. 50 *Attalus . . . to the wild beasts*] The governor seems here to have disregarded the emperor's instructions. See §§ 44, 47.

51 *sacrificed*] See § 40, note.

52 *has not a name*] Cp. Just., *Apol.* ii. 6: "His Son . . . is called on the one hand Christ, in respect of His being anointed and of God's ordering all things through Him—a name which also in itself contains a signification beyond our knowledge, just as the title God is not a name, but a conception, innate in human nature, of a thing (*or* work) too hard to be declared" (Robinson's translation, *Irenæus: The Apostolic Teaching*, p. 17). Minucius Felix 18: "Seek not a name for God; God is His name."

56 *scourging*] Cp. § 38.

sacrificed] Cp. § 40, note.

57–63 Disposal of the bodies of the martyrs.

59 *many days*] Six, § 62.

2. 2 *by this name*] It is clear that the Gallican Christians did not reserve the word "martyr" for those who gave their lives for the faith. Martyrdom meant simply consistent confession under examination in a court, whether or not it resulted in death. That was in fact the ordinary meaning of the word in the second century; and much later examples of it are found. Thus in 3. 1 Eusebius himself speaks of the writers of the letter which he quotes as martyrs, though of course they had survived the persecution. See Lightfoot, *Clem.* ii. 26, where, however, some of the examples given of the use of μάρτυς and μαρτυρεῖν for *death* by martyrdom are doubtful. It does not follow, because one who died for the faith was called a martyr, that the word implied that fact. Compare also for the wider meaning J. H. Bernard, *Studia Sacra*, 265 f., and for a very late example of "martyrdom" in the earlier sense see J. M. Harden, *Ethiopic Christian Literature*, 1926, p. 67.

5 *They humbled themselves*] This reference to 1 Pet. v. 6 is apparently suggested by the passage quoted in § 2, in the context of which (Phil. ii. 8) we find similar language.

6 *against him*] *i.e.* against Satan (1. 5, 6, 14, 16, 23, 25, 27, 35, 42, 57).

7 *their mother*] Cp. 1. 45.

8 *those who afterwards behaved so harshly*] The Novatianists (vi. 42. 6; 43. 1).

3. 2 *Alcibiades*] He seems to have been beheaded (4. 3, note).

4 *then for the first time*] *i.e. c.* 178. Eusebius is not speaking of the rise of Montanism (for which see note, p. 180); but of its spread outside Phrygia, and particularly in the West.

the disciples of Montanus, etc.] The sect (or sects) known

as the Montanists, usually called by Eusebius "the heresy of the Phrygians." On these see cc. 16–19. From the way in which they are described here, as the followers of three different leaders (cp. 16. 3), it may be inferred that they did not form a single, organized sect.

3. 4 *Montanus*] See 16. 7, and notes.

Alcibiades] This Montanist leader is not mentioned elsewhere. Salmon (*D.C.B.* iii. 916) and others suggest that Miltiades (16. 3) is intended, Alcibiades having been written by a slip of the pen, due to the occurrence of that name in § 2. Cp. a similar error in 17. 1. But the person mentioned here seems to have been a companion of Montanus. His activity may be placed some time, probably many years, before 179 (16. 19, note); while the Miltiades of 16. 3 was active about 192. Correction of the text here is unnecessary (de Labriolle, *Crise*, 33).

Theodotus] See 16. 14 f.

numerous other miracles] Cp. c. 7.

pious and most orthodox judgement] It is probable that an appeal had been made by the Asian and Phrygian Christians to the Gallicans to give their opinion on the matters in dispute. Their letter in reply cannot have been favourable to Montanism, since Eusebius here pronounces it "most orthodox." (See what he says of Montanism in c. 14.) The general attitude of the Christians of Lyons and Vienne towards Montanism is discussed by de Labriolle, *Crise*, 213–244.

perfected] Who had died for the faith. Cp. 2. 3.

in bonds] Probably in the interval of rest, while the governor was awaiting instructions (1. 44–46).

Eleutherus] It is clear, if we accept the statement of Eusebius, that it was in the time of Eleutherus, or possibly in the last year or so of Soter (Pref. 1), that the Montanist propaganda reached Rome. And it is probable that the mission of Irenæus to Eleutherus (4. 1) had reference to the resulting controversy there, on which the bishop could hardly avoid expressing an opinion. It is unlikely that any earlier Pope had issued a pronouncement upon it. Now we learn from Tert., *Prax.* 1 that an unnamed bishop of Rome, after writing a letter favourable to the Montanists, soon withdrew it, thus following the example of at least two of his predecessors. But this bishop cannot have been later than Zephyrinus if, as seems to be the fact, the *Adv. Praxeam* was written under that Pope; nor earlier, if Eleutherus was the first Pope who dealt with Montanism, for Zephyrinus was his second successor. Hence we may conclude that the anonymous bishop was Zephyrinus (Introd. p. 44), and that Eleutherus was the author of a missive which at least did not condemn the anti-Montanists. For further reasons for this inference see de Labriolle, *Crise*, pp. 257–275.

4. 1 *Irenæus*] See 26, note.

3 *the list of the martyrs*] This list can be partially reconstructed. The names of the martyrs are given in the *Liber in Gloria Martyrum* of Gregory of Tours, c. 48, in the Hieronymian Martyrology under June 2, in a Munich MS. (Lat. 3514: see B. Krusch's edition of Gregory of Tours in *M.G.H.*, Script. Merov., i, p. 878), and elsewhere. These catalogues agree fairly well with each other; and they are all divided into sections, as was the list which lay before Eusebius. The first section has no title; but the second and third are headed respectively, "these were given to the wild beasts," and "these are they who gave up the ghost in prison," in exact agreement with the description which Eusebius gives of the contents of the second and third sections of his list. It is a reasonable inference that all were ultimately based on the list which was included in the letter of the Gallican Christians, and that the first section named the martyrs who were beheaded. The three documents mentioned above state that the number of the martyrs was forty-eight (? forty-seven: see Lawlor, *Psalter of Ricemarch*, i. 79), and the re-constructed list (Hirschfeld in *S. P. A.*, 1895, p. 385 ff.) contains about that number of names. Eusebius mentions by name only ten. The list makes no mention of confessors—they may have been numerous—who survived torture and imprisonment: it is therefore not as long as the original list, which included as a fourth section "the confessors then still surviving." It gives twenty-four names of martyrs who were beheaded, among whom were Vettius Epagathus (1. 9), Alcibiades (3. 2) and Biblis (1. 25); six of persons who were thrown to the beasts, all of whom are mentioned by name in c. 1; and eighteen, including Pothinus (1. 29), of others who died in prison. But as in some instances two names (nomen and cognomen) belong to one person, the number of martyrs in the first division was probably less than twenty-four, and in the third less than eighteen. About a third of the names are Greek.

the said letter] Apparently the letter quoted in cc. 1–3.

Collection of Martyrdoms] See iv. 15. 47, note.

5. 1 *Antoninus . . . his brother Marcus Aurelius*] Obviously the two brothers are the co-Augusti, Marcus Aurelius and Verus. It is commonly held (as by Schwartz, iii. p. clv) that Eusebius by "Antoninus" means Verus, and that he correctly names Marcus as the commander of the battle against the Quadi (see next note). But at the beginning of this section of Book v (Pref. 1) "Antoninus Verus" is certainly Marcus; and we naturally suppose that the "Antoninus" mentioned at its close is the same person. Moreover, if "Antoninus" is here Verus, Eusebius has committed a gross blunder in saying that "these events took place under Antoninus": for the events recorded in cc. 1–4 are dated in or about 178 (Pref. 1),

the year in which he places the accession of Commodus as co-Augustus (*Chronicle*, p. 289), eight years after the death of Verus (iv. 14. 10, note). It is true indeed that if "Marcus Aurelius" is Verus, he still blunders, inasmuch as the incident of the Thundering Legion occurred two years after Verus' death. But this is a venial error. He probably did not know the exact date of either of these events. In the *Chronicle* (p. 287) he is not sure whether Verus died in the ninth or the eleventh year of his reign; and (p. 288 f.) he wrongly places the Thundering Legion under 174: in the *History* he dates neither of them. Thus we may assume that he imagined the "Marcus Aurelius" of his sources to be Lucius Verus. Eusebius would all the more easily fall into this error because he gathered from Tertullian that "Marcus Aurelius" was a "most wise emperor" who issued a letter in favour of the Christians (§ 6); while he doubtless observed that, according to his translation of the *Apology*, the successor of Antoninus Pius was one of the "impious emperors" (§ 7, note). In the present passage he contrasts the conduct of the good Augustus, Verus, with that of his persecuting colleague. Cp. iv. 13. 1–7, note.

5. 1 *It is recorded*] λόγος ἔχει. The written sources which this phrase implies are mentioned in §§ 3, 4, 5. That there is a nucleus of truth in the story told in this chapter is generally admitted; but some of the details are demonstrably false. The incident of the rainfall is represented on the column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome. See for a discussion, Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 487 ff.

Germans and Sarmatians] This "bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum" lasted from 166 to 179. The incident of the Thundering Legion occurred in a battle against the Quadi, as Dion Cassius (lxxi. 8, 10) relates. Many scholars, following Eusebius (see above), have dated it *c.* 174. But A. von Domaszewski has shown that it took place in 171 (Die Chronologie des Bellum Germ. et Sarmat. in *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, v. 120 f.).

legion of Melitene] The twelfth legion, recruited at Melitene, in Cappadocia, and usually stationed in its neighbourhood. Coming from that district it would probably include a considerable number of Christians in its ranks. But that the legion as a whole was Christian, as Eusebius and Apollinarius (§ 4) imply, is impossible. It seems that no extant document or inscription earlier than Eusebius gives evidence that the twelfth legion took part in the war.

2 *a thunderbolt*] The fall of rain is depicted on the column of Marcus Aurelius, but not the thunderbolt. See Petersen-Domaszewski-Calderini, *Die Marcus-Säule*, 1896, Taf. 21–23.

3 *alien to our faith*] Dion Cassius (*c.* 220) and other heathen writers give accounts of the incident, ascribing the fall of rain

to the invocations of an Egyptian magician, or to the prayer of Marcus Aurelius.

5. 4 *Apollinarius*] It is highly probable that he related the story in his Apology to Marcus Aurelius (iv. 27). If so, that work must have been written some time after the victory over the Quadi, and while Marcus was sole emperor, *i.e.* between 171 (§ 1, second note) and 177. See iv. 27, note.

Thundering] κεραυνοβόλον. It is known from inscriptions that the twelfth legion was not called *fulminatrix* but *fulminata*, "thunder-struck," which would be represented in Greek by the same word with a different accent, κεραυνόβολον. Moreover, from Dion Cassius (lv. 23), supported by inscriptions (Ramsay, *Rec. Discov.*, 291, 296 f.), we learn that this title (which he translates κεραυνοφόρον) went back to the time of the Emperor Augustus. The statement in the text is therefore a fiction. But since Apollinarius wrote only a few years after the event he can hardly have been betrayed into so gross an error. Eusebius probably misunderstood his language. Lightfoot's conjecture (*Ign.* i. 491; *Col.* 61), that he simply inserted the words "from the Emperor," can hardly stand. On that assumption Apollinarius must have misnamed the legion *fulminatrix;* for *fulminata* could hardly be regarded as "appropriate to the event."

5 *Tertullian*] See ii. 2. 4, note.

to the Senate] The *Apologeticus* was addressed to the governors (*antistites*) of the Roman Empire (*Ap.* 1), who are also called *præsides* (*ib.*, 9, 50); that is, the governors of provinces.

6 *was still extant*] Tertullian did not say this. He *assumes* that the letters are still preserved: "if the letters . . . be searched in which he testifies," etc. (*Ap.* 5; cp. *ib.* 21, where he takes for granted that Pilate's report about Christ was in the imperial archives). That the Emperor wrote to the Senate is stated by Dion Cassius (lxxi. 10), but he does not indicate the purport of his letter. A forged letter of Marcus Aurelius to the Senate, recounting the miracle, is preserved in the MSS. of Justin Martyr's Apologies.

7 *Of what sort,* etc.] The translator (ii. 2. 4, note) has misconstrued the second clause of the first sentence of this passage, where Tertullian has "which only those who are impious . . . put in force against us." He has also taken liberties with the text. (1) He alters the order of the names so as to present them in chronological sequence. (2) After "Pius" he omits "nor Verus," thus banishing Verus—*i.e.* Marcus Aurelius—from the catalogue of good emperors, though he does not suppress the reference to the Thundering Legion (§ 6), on which Tertullian's praise of Marcus is based. Rufinus omits the quotation.

8 *ninety years*] Pothinus was therefore born in 88, about 19 years after the birth of Polycarp.

5. 8 *Irenæus*] See c. 26, note.

6. 1 *apostles*] Peter and Paul.

epistles to Timothy] Cp. iii. 2.

Anencletus] Also called Cletus. See on the two names, Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 80.

2 *third place*] Not counting the Apostles. Linus, not Peter, was reckoned as first bishop. Cp. iii. 21, etc. For Clement see iii. 15, 16 notes.

3 *to proclaim*] The Latin version of Irenæus has "annuntians." The corresponding Greek word has been omitted by Eusebius, owing to the extract having been cut short.

4 *glorious martyrdom*] See iv. 10, note.

Eleutherus now holds] Thus the third book (5. 8) of Irenæus' work *Against Heresies* was written during the episcopate of Eleutherus (174–189). Lipsius (*D.C.B.* iii. 258) suggests 180-185 as the period during which the whole work was written. He cannot have written very early in the episcopate of Eleutherus; for he quotes Hegesippus (iv. 22. 3, and note).

5 *succession*] Reading διαδοχῇ with the Latin version of Irenæus (*successione*). The Greek MSS. of Eusebius, supported by the Syriac version, have διδαχῇ: it is probably an error of Eusebius or of the transcriber whom he employed.

7. 2 *so far are they*] The followers of Simon and Carpocrates. See Introd. p. 21.

6 *even as we also*] See Introd. p. 22.

8. 2 *in writing also*] *i.e.* in addition to his oral teaching.

in their own language] Cp. iii. 39. 16, note. This passage may be based on Papias.

3 *Mark*] Cp. iii. 39. 15.

which Paul used to preach] Cp. iii. 4. 7.

5 *this number*] The number of the beast, "six hundred and sixty and six" (Rev. xiii. 18). Some, as Irenæus says in the context, read six hundred and sixteen.

6 *we, then*, etc.] The greater part of this passage is also quoted in iii. 18. 3. See notes there.

as to the name of the antichrist] The Latin has *in eo*. Eusebius expands the corresponding Greek, in view of the preceding omitted context.

7 *on very many occasions*] Only three (Iren. iii. 17. 5, 8) according to Harvey's index.

epistle of Peter] Thrice (iv. 19. 1; 23; v. 7. 2) according to Harvey. It is curious that Eusebius makes no mention of Irenæus' references to 2 John (i. 9. 3; iii. 17. 8).

The Shepherd] See iii. 3. 6, note.

8 *Wisdom*] Irenæus does not mention the source of his quotation. In spite of Eusebius' "certain texts," it seems to be the only allusion to the Book of Wisdom which has been detected in his extant writings. But see c. 26.

8. 8 *apostolic elder*] See Iren. iv. 42. 2, 3, 4; (44. 1); 46. 1; 47; 49. 1; v. 17. 4.

9 *Justin*] For the passages see iv. 18. 9.

Ignatius] See iii. 36. 12.

a special work] It is not extant, and was apparently unknown to Eusebius. Probably it was never written.

10 *Theodotion . . . Aquila*] See vi. 16. 1, notes.

11 *goes on to say*] This account of the origin of the Septuagint is ultimately derived from the "Letter of Aristeas," but includes some additional legendary matter. The Letter of Aristeas has been edited by H. St. J. Thackeray as an appendix to Swete's *Introd.*, and translated in a separate volume (S.P.C.K., 1917). For further information as to the history of the Septuagint, reference may be made to Swete, pp. 1–28.

Ptolemy the son of Lagus] Ptolemy I, Soter. "Aristeas" puts the translation under his son, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus (*Letter*, §§ 12, 13).

13 *he separated them*] Irenæus is the earliest writer who says this.

15 *inspired Ezra*] See 2 Esdras xiv. 19–48.

9. *Commodus*] Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus (see iv. 14. 10, note) became sole emperor on the death of his father, 17 March 180. He had been co-Augustus since 177.

10. 1 *Pantænus*] About him little is known save what can be gathered from this and the following chapters. He appears to have been a native of Sicily (11. 4, note); and in early life he abandoned the Stoic philosophy for Christianity. Subsequently he undertook a missionary journey, in the course of which he visited the land of the Indians (§ 2 f.). He finally settled at Alexandria and became principal of the Catechetical School. This appears to have been in, or a little before, 180 (c. 9). He died there before 203 (11. 4, note), perhaps *c.* 195.

primitive custom] That the Catechetical School was founded very early is probable. But we know nothing about it before the time of Pantænus.

2 *it is said*] φασί. Eusebius here relies on oral tradition. In § 1 he used a written document ("it is recorded": λόγος ἔχει).

the Indians] There has been much controversy as to the meaning of this name. It obviously, however, indicates the district in which Bartholomew preached (§ 3). But Rufinus (*H.E.* x. 9) tells us that Matthew evangelized Ethiopia, and Bartholomew "nearer India, adjacent thereto." Accordingly Zahn (*K.G.* ii. 667, note) takes "the land of the Indians" to mean South-West Arabia. But see *D.C.B.* iv. 182.

3 *the writing of Matthew*] The description of this book as written in Hebrew characters implies that the community among whom Pantænus found it was composed of Hebrew

Christians. It may have been the Gospel of the Hebrews (iii. 25. 5). But Eusebius evidently regards it as the original Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, which (unlike St. Jerome) he does not identify with the Gospel of the Hebrews. Jerome (*V.I.* 36), in evident contradiction to this passage, says that Pantænus brought it to Alexandria.

10. 4 *and by means of treatises*] This seems to be a slip on the part of Eusebius. He nowhere mentions any written work of Pantænus, and there is no good evidence from any other source that Pantænus was a writer. On the other hand, Clement gives us to understand (11. 3; vi. 13. 9, note) that his teachers (of whom Pantænus was one, 11. 2) did not write.

11. 1 *in his time*] In the time of Pantænus.

Clement] Two traditions of the native city of Clement of Alexandria were known to Epiphanius (*Hær.* 32. 6); of which one gave the honour to Athens, the other to Alexandria. The former is the more probable, because, among other reasons, Clement met his first Christian teacher in Greece, while he selected Alexandria as his later home simply out of regard for Pantænus (§ 4, see note). According to Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* ii. 2. p. 61), supported by some expressions in his own works (*Pæd.* i. 1. 1; ii. 8. 62, 73), Clement was born of heathen parents. It was apparently in early manhood that he set out on his prolonged journey in quest of Christian teachers, of whom he mentions six with reverence—the last and greatest being Pantænus. He made his acquaintance when he reached Alexandria. This was probably in 180 or a little later; for Africanus (Routh, *R.S.* ii. 307) puts his floruit there under Commodus (180–192), and at least one of his writings was known at Rome before 190 (28. 4). He probably assisted Pantænus in the work of the Catechetical School, and certainly succeeded him as its principal. His most famous pupil was Origen (vi. 6). By this time he was a presbyter (vi. 11. 6; *Pæd.* i. 6. 37). After a residence there of about twenty years he fled from the persecution of Severus in 202–3 (vi. 3. 1); and we next find him in Cappadocia at work among the flock of Bishop Alexander, who was in prison. In 211 he went thence to Antioch (vi. 11. 5, 6, notes), and he died before 216 (vi. 14. 9, note). Before he left Alexandria in 202–3 it would seem (11. 3–5) that all his teachers were dead, which suggests that he was then at least fifty years old; and the other dates point to about 150 as the year of his birth. For his writings see vi. 13; and, for an interesting account of him, R. B. Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria, a study in Christian Liberalism*, 1914.

2 *Hypotyposeis*] See vi. 14. 1–7.

mentions Pantænus] Cp. vi. 13. 2. This statement does not occur in the existing fragments; but Eusebius is confirmed by Photius, 109.

11. 2 *hints at this same person*] This conjecture is generally regarded as correct. See § 4, note.

after indicating, etc.] It is implied that Clement, in the preceding context of the passage quoted in §§ 3–5, claimed to have reached back to the successors of the apostles. But there is nothing shortly before it which could be regarded as making such a claim. On the other hand, the closing sentence of the extract (§ 5) speaks of Clement's teachers preserving the tradition "straight (εὐθύς) from the holy apostles." This, taken by itself, might be understood to mean that they had heard the apostles. Can it be that Eusebius trusted his memory when he wrote the sentence before us (Introd., p. 26 f.), and supposed that in *Strom.* § 3 followed § 5? This assumption would explain both his error as to the position of the passage on which he relied, and how he drew from it an inference which is certainly invalid. Cp. vi. 13. 8, and, for the phrase, v. 20. 1.

4 Here Clement mentions six Christian teachers, in the order in which he met them on his great tour. With the exception of the last (see below) it seems impossible to identify any of them. Tollinton (i. 12, 16) supposes the first to have been Athenagoras, and the fifth Tatian (see iv. 28, 29). But both of them, unlike Clement's teachers, were writers of repute.

the Ionian] A native of Ionia, the coast-land of Asia Minor between Phocæa and Miletus. Clement met him in Greece.

Magna Græcia] The name given to the Greek cities on the coast of southern Italy.

Cœle-Syria] In the strict sense—in which it is apparently used here—the valley between Lebanon, on the west, and Anti-Lebanon, on the east.

a Hebrew] Apparently the only one of the teachers whom Clement found in his native country.

the last] This is almost certainly Pantænus. (1) Pantænus was one of Clement's teachers (§ 2); (2) he was teaching in Egypt when Clement settled there (vi. 6; cp. § 1); and Clement seems to have had only one teacher in Egypt. It follows that the teacher to whom Clement often refers as "the elder," or "the blessed elder," without mentioning his name (cp. vi. 14. 4)—evidently his teacher *par excellence*—was Pantænus. He was dead when Clement wrote this passage (not later than 203: vi. 6, notes), for in the context (*Strom.* i. 1. 14) he describes him as "that *spirit* full of grace."

took my rest] Here Eusebius omits an important sentence: "A truly Sicilian bee, culling the flowers from a prophetic and apostolic meadow, he engendered in the souls of his hearers knowledge of a wondrous purity." Why is Pantænus called a Sicilian bee? The local adjective is not essential to the metaphor, though Sicily (as well as other places) was

famed for its honey. The turn of the Greek, in fact, seems to indicate that "Sicilian" is not metaphorical, but a statement of fact, namely that Pantænus was a native of Sicily; and this conclusion, which is accepted by many critics, is confirmed by certain considerations:—(1) The "bee" metaphor, common in classical literature, is not generally localized. (2) Bacchylides (ix. 10) calls himself the "island bee" because his home was in Ceos, and Sophocles commonly went by the name of the "Attic bee," being a native of Colonus near Athens. (3) In every other instance Clement names both the home of the teacher and the place where he met him.

12. 1 *Narcissus*] He is described here as well-known under Commodus (c. 9), and in the episcopate of Eleutherus (Pref. 1; 5. 8; 22: cp. *Chronicle*, p. 291); but the date of his accession is not given. Since he was born about 100 (vi. 11. 3, note), he would have been over seventy when Eleutherus became Pope (*c.* 174). We may infer that he was bishop a considerable time before that date.

fifteenth] Apparently in the list (§ 2) Maximus and Antoninus, who appear in the *Chronicle* (p. 291) after Capito (*ib.*, p. 286), are omitted. Without them we have only thirteen names.

2 *the succession-lists*] διαδοχαί. This list continues that of iv. 5. 3, and probably followed immediately after it in the source. See note below.

Note on the Source of the List of Bishops of Jerusalem, iii. 35; iv. 5. 1–3; 6. 4; v. 12.

It is probable that the lists of bishops in iv. 5 and v. 12 are the two sections of a single list in the source which Eusebius used. The record of the appointment of Mark in iv. 6. 4 (see note there) apparently comes from the same authority as iv. 5. 3; and when he is mentioned again in v. 12, as the first of the second series, direct reference is made to iv. 6. 4. Moreover the note in iv. 5. 1, on the absence of chronological data regarding the bishops, reappears in the *Chronicle* (p. 291) in connexion with the later bishops of the second series. It applies therefore to the bishops named in v. 12 as well as to those in iv. 5.

Eusebius, then, had before him a single list. And in iv. 5 and v. 12 he gives a *complete* copy of it. That is shown by his remark (v. 12. 2) that Narcissus was the "last of all." We are thus entitled to infer that the list was not a mere local succession-list shown to him by the Jerusalem Christians. Such a list would have been brought up to date. In particular three later bishops mentioned in vi. 10, whose names he evidently learned from local tradition, were not in the source

of our two chapters. Now Narcissus was almost certainly bishop of Jerusalem before and after Eleutherus (174–189) was bishop of Rome (v. 12. 1; vi. 11. 1, 3, notes). In other words he was bishop when Hegesippus wrote his *Memoirs* (iv. 22. 3).

Again, we might expect that Hegesippus would include in his *Memoirs* a list of the bishops of Jerusalem up to his own time. He gave a list of Roman bishops from Linus to Eleutherus, which included some historical details of the earlier bishops, and a note of the introduction of the Carpocratian heresy under Anicetus (iv. 22. 3, note). He may also have given a list of the bishops of Corinth: at any rate he records their orthodoxy up to Primus, implying that under him heresy first appeared (iv. 22. 1 f.). In like manner he writes at considerable length of the first two bishops of Jerusalem, mentioning the beginning of heretical teaching under Symeon (ii. 23. 4–18; iii. 11; 32. 3; iv. 22. 4–6); and he appears to have recorded the appointment of Symeon's successor (iii. 35, note). What more likely than that he should continue the list up to his own day; that is, to the episcopate of Narcissus?

Now if Hegesippus inserted in his *Memoirs* a list of the bishops of Jerusalem it is scarcely possible that Eusebius would fail to make use of it. The *Memoirs* are his main authority for the early history of that church. The bare fact that the list which he gives is such a one as Hegesippus may probably have compiled is *prima facie* evidence that it came from him.

When we turn to iv. 5 we find confirmation of this conclusion. Such is the use of the phrase λόγος κατέχει (§ iv. 5. 1), which so often elsewhere introduces passages from the *Memoirs* (iii. 11; 12; 18. 1; 19; 20. 9; 32. 1). Such again is the certificate of orthodoxy bestowed upon the Jewish bishops (iv. 5. 2; cp. iv. 22. 1–4). And such is the coincidence of phraseology, in the same section, with Eusebius' paraphrase of a lost passage of Hegesippus (see note).

It is true that the passage in iv. 5. 2 just referred to depends on the word φασί, which usually indicates oral tradition. But it would be a mistake to assume that the word in all cases implies that the tradition came to Eusebius himself by word of mouth. In at least two instances he speaks of a tradition as oral, which was derived by him from a document to the writer of which it had been communicated orally (iii. 11; 39. 6, notes). On such occasions Eusebius simply takes over a word from the source which he paraphrases. It is possible that in like manner φασί in iv. 5. 2 represents a word used by Hegesippus in a passage which Eusebius is reproducing. This hypothesis receives confirmation from *Dem. Ev.*, iii. 5, p. 124, and *Theoph.*, v. 45 (Syriac version). For in both these places

Eusebius repeats the statement (in iv. 5 dependent on φασί) that up to the time of Hadrian the church of Jerusalem was composed of Jews; but in the former it depends on ἡ ἱστορία κατέχει, which means more than floating tradition; and in the latter on "it is in writing," which may correspond to a more definite phrase in the Greek.

It may be remarked, further, that, on the supposition that the list was copied from the *Memoirs*, we can explain Eusebius' assertion that Narcissus "was well-known" in the time of Eleutherus (v. 12. 1). So much he could gather, but no more, from the dateless catalogue of Hegesippus.

It remains, however, that the list is unhistorical. It is impossible that there were twenty-seven successive bishops between the death of Symeon (*c.* 107) and the accession of Narcissus (*c.* 170 or earlier). It is therefore most unlikely that the second section of the list represents the original text of Hegesippus. For he must have had sufficient knowledge of the Ælian church to enable him to compile a list of its bishops from 135 or a few years later. And the symmetry of the list points the same conclusion. It is of course possible, but it is scarcely probable, that exactly the same number of successive bishops ruled the church before 135, as ruled it from 135 to the year in which Hegesippus wrote.

Now the successor of Narcissus, Alexander, founded a library at Ælia, from which Eusebius derived important material for his *History* (vi. 20. 1). Among the treatises preserved in that library we should certainly expect to find the work of Hegesippus; and there Eusebius may have made his excerpts from it. But the text which he used seems to have been corrupt (see ii. 23. 4, 6, 7, notes). No doubt its defects were due to transcription in the course of the third century. And it is far from unlikely that among the alterations made in that period was the deliberate insertion of fresh names in the second series of bishops, with a view to making the number equal to that of the first.

That the first series remains as Hegesippus penned it is less open to doubt. It may have been copied from a traditional succession list, the accuracy of which he had no means of checking. Lists of the ancient worthies of churches and monasteries have sometimes come in later days to be regarded as lists of bishops or abbots (for examples see a paper on the Ancient List of the Coarbs of Patrick in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxv. C, pp. 333–336). Something of this kind may have happened at Jerusalem in the second century.

Against the hypothesis of this note, attention has been called to the statement of Eusebius (*Dem. Ev.* and *Theoph.*, *l.cc.*) that "the names [of the bishops in the first section of the list] are on record (μνημονεύεται) to this day among the

people of that place." (C. H. Turner in *J.T.S.* i. 550, note; cp. Hort, *Jud. Christ.*, p. 173.) But why cannot this refer to the *Memoirs* (ὑπομνήματα) of Hegesippus in the Ælian library?

13. 1 *Rhodo*] Of him we know only what is told here and in § 8.

a disciple] μαθητευθείς. Harnack (*Chron.* i. 313) maintains that this word here and in § 8 implies that Rhodo was not merely instructed, but converted, by Tatian. But see iv. 14. 3, note.

2 *Apelles*] Tertullian makes many references to Apelles. According to him (*Præsc.* 30, 34) Apelles was a disciple of Marcion at Rome. Subsequently he went to Alexandria, and remained there for some years, during which he departed from the heresy of Marcion. He rejected his master's doctrine of the two principles—the good God and the just God; and substituted for the latter a (created) angel (cp. § 7). Returning to Rome he fell in with Philumene and wrote a book containing her teaching, with the title *Phaneroseis*. Under the influence of this woman Apelles modified Marcion's docetic view of Christ's body, admitting that He had real flesh, though holding, with Marcion, that He did not come into the world by birth (Tert., *Marc.* iii. 11; Hippol., *Ref.* vii. 38). His importance is shown by the fact that Tertullian wrote a book against him and his followers (now lost): see Tert., *De Carne Christi*, 8. For more about him and Philumene, see *D.C.B.* i. 127.

3, 4 *Potitus . . . Basilicus . . . Syneros*] Otherwise unknown.

8 *the same writer*] Rhodo.

book of Problems] It seems to be implied that this work was written at Rome, and as Rhodo proposed to answer it, it was probably more or less heretical. Tatian may for the moment have been drawn to Marcionism, with which Irenæus (i. 26. 1, quoted iv. 29. 2 f.) distinctly connects his Encratism, and with the refutation of which Rhodo specially busied himself. Cp. iv. 28, note.

special treatise] Eusebius had evidently not seen it, and it may never have been written.

9 *very many treatises*] The work referred to is his *Syllogismi* (Ps.-Tert., *Adv. Hær.* 6). From Apelles—and no doubt from this work—Ambrose (*de Parad.* 5. 28) cited three questions regarding Gen. ii, taken from "the thirty-eighth tome." This reference justifies Eusebius's phrase, "very many treatises."

14. *the Paraclete*] The reference is to passages in the fourth Gospel in which the promise of the Comforter (Paraclete) is given. The Montanists, as they were later called, held that the promise was fulfilled in the prophecies of Montanus (see note, p. 180). The statement that they declared that Mon-

tanus *was* the Paraclete has apparent support in some of his oracles: *e.g.* Oracle 3 (de Labriolle, *Crise*, p. 38): "I am the Father, and the Son, and the Paraclete." But such utterances are explained by another oracle (No. 5, *ib.* p. 45), from which we learn that Montanus regarded himself, in his prophesying, as a passive instrument through which the Divine Person spoke. The words which he spoke were not his own, but the actual words of the Spirit who inspired him.

14. *prophetesses of Montanus*] It would appear from this phrase that at first Priscilla and Maximilla were supposed to have the prophetic charisma in a lower degree than Montanus. He was the unique receptacle, so to speak, of the Paraclete.

15. *Florinus*] See c. 20.

fallen] This seems to imply that Florinus was no longer a presbyter when he openly espoused heretical opinions. Eusebius no doubt derived his information from one of the treatises of Irenæus against Florinus (20. 1). If so, the "fall" must at all events have been prior to one or both of them. The fall does not necessarily (but see vii. 30. 18) involve degradation by the ecclesiastical authorities. Florinus may have voluntarily abandoned his office (cp. vi. 43. 16).

Blastus] Of him we know little. The present passage shows that he had been a presbyter, and 20. 1 implies that he was a schismatic. Pseudo-Tertullian, *adv. Hær.* 8, tells us that he was a Judaizer, who held that Easter should be celebrated on the fourteenth day of the month—in other words, that he was a Quartodeciman. We are not obliged for that reason, as some scholars maintain, to reject Eusebius' opinion that his activity belongs to the episcopate of Eleutherus, and to transfer him to the period of Victor's strife with the Asians (c. 23). The question of the date of Easter had been argued at Rome long before (24. 14 ff.).

16. 1 *the heresy of the Phrygians*] Montanism. See note, p. 180.

Apollinarius] See iv. 27; v. 19.

2 *one of the said persons*] The name of this writer is unknown and for convenience he is usually called "the Anonymous." It is true that he is identified with Apollinarius both in the Syriac version of the *History* and in Rufinus' translation. But this is a mere error due to § 1. That he cannot be identified with the bishop of Hierapolis is clear. Since he dedicated his book to Avircius Marcellus (§ 3), and calls him and Zoticus of Otrous his fellow-presbyters (§ 5: see note), he would rather seem to have been bishop of one of the five cities—Eucarpia, Hieropolis, Otrous, Stectorion and Bruzus—from which the Phrygian Pentapolis takes its name. He wrote when Eastern Montanism had been fully developed, about 192 (§ 19, note).

3 *Avircius Marcellus*] There is extant a life of St. Abercius, bishop of Hierapolis, written about A.D. 400, and full of miracles and other legendary lore (*AA.SS.*, Oct. ix. 493;

P.G. cxv. 1211). If its historical value is slight it testifies to the high reputation in which its hero was held when the author wrote. And it contains a transcript of a document—the epitaph of Abercius—which some modern scholars long ago recognized as genuine. This epitaph purports to have been composed by Abercius himself, when he was seventy-two years of age. The researches of Sir William Ramsay have placed its authenticity beyond doubt. In 1881 he discovered an inscription on the tombstone of one Alexander of Hieropolis in the Phrygian Pentapolis, which was obviously copied from it, and which is dated 216. In 1883 he found near Hieropolis a large portion of the actual tomb-stone of Abercius himself (now in the Lateran Museum), the inscription on which agrees almost exactly with the transcript in the Life. These discoveries made the re-construction of the epitaph possible, with the exception of a few more or less doubtful words. They also proved that Abercius was bishop (if he was a bishop), not, as previous scholars had assumed, of Hierapolis on the Lycus, but of another Hierapolis, locally known as Hieropolis, in the Glaucus valley; and further that he was no other than the Avircius Marcellus of the text. It follows that Avircius was an anti-Montanist leader of such esteem that he was reckoned as a thaumaturge two centuries after his death. According to Ramsay his monument was set up a good many years before 216, and not improbably about 192, the year in which the Anonymous dedicated his treatise to him. Avircius was on that supposition born about 120. The epitaph describes him as a traveller, who had visited such remote places as Syria, Nisibis, and especially Rome. It seems clear that these journeys had an ecclesiastical purpose (Ramsay, *Phrygia*, 711 f.); and it is likely that they were in some way connected with the Montanist movement. Now the communication of the Gallican Christians with Pope Eleutherus on this subject (3. 4) presupposes that the controversy which it raised had reached Rome. No doubt the two contending parties in Phrygia had sent emissaries thither, each intent on bringing Eleutherus to its side. It may well be that Avircius championed the cause of the Catholics, and that his visit to Rome took place about 177. It should be added that the name Avircius is not Phrygian, but Italian or Celtic. For the epitaph and its interpretation see Lightfoot, *Ign.* i. 492 ff.; Ramsay, *Phrygia*, 679 ff., 709 ff., 720 ff., 791.

16. 3 *Miltiades*] Probably the leader of the Montanists of the Pentapolis. Some have thought that he may be the Alcibiades of 3. 4. But see note there.

the New Covenant] This implies a closed New Testament Canon. Cp. iv. 26. 14. The Montanists put into writing the oracles of their leading prophets (for those which are still extant see de Labriolle, *Crise*, pp. 34–105). Since they were

regarded as direct utterances of the Paraclete, these writings were in effect additions to the Canon. Such no doubt also was the "catholic epistle" of Themiso (18. 5). The Anonymous hesitated to write lest he should be accused of making similar additions; and in making the statement he virtually protests against the Montanist practice. Gaius of Rome made a like protest (vi. 20. 3).

16. 5 *our fellow-presbyter*] This phrase is commonly used by bishops addressing presbyters (vii. 5. 6; 11. 3; 20: cp. 1 Pet. v. 1). We may conclude that the Anonymous was a bishop (cp. de Labriolle, *Sources*, p. xxv. f.). The word "our" includes Avircius, who was therefore probably bishop of Hieropolis. We may infer that Zoticus was bishop, or a presbyter, of Otrous and that the Anonymous was bishop of some other community in the Pentapolis. Otrous seems to have been less than three miles from Hieropolis (Ramsay, *l.c.*, p. 687, 702).

7 *Ardabau*] The exact site of this village is uncertain, and it was apparently unknown to the Anonymous. His words, however, suggest that it was near the border of Phrygia and Mysia, and Ramsay (*l.c.*, p. 573) places it in "the Mysian country that lay south and south-east from Philadelphia."

recent convert] There is ground for the supposition that before his conversion Montanus had been a priest of Cybele (de Labriolle, *Crise*, 20).

Gratus] The date of this proconsul is unknown. For the date of the earliest prophesying of Montanus, see note, p. 180.

abnormal ecstasy] παρεκστάσει. Cp. 14; 17. 2, 3. The substitution of this word for ἔκστασις seems to indicate that it was not the fact that Montanus was an ecstatic, but the character of his ecstasy, which offended the Anonymous: it was "contrary to the custom of the Church." Cp. § 9; 17. 1, note. Tertullian seems to have held views about ecstasy more nearly akin to those of the orthodox than of the Montanists in the East (*Euseb.*, 118 f.). On the difference between the Phrygian Montanists and their opponents as to the nature of ecstasy, see the excellent discussion of de Labriolle (*Crise*, 162–175).

8 *rebuked*] Cp. § 17; 18. 13; 19. 3. The theory of the Catholics was that the Montanist prophets were inspired by an evil spirit. They therefore attempted to exorcize them.

9 *two women*] Maximilla and Priscilla, §§ 13, 17, 18; 17. 4; 18. 13; 19. 3. It would seem that these women did not join Montanus till a considerable time after he began to prophesy. At first, apparently, they were not regarded as on a level with Montanus (c. 14).

inopportune] ἀκαίρως. To this note of irregularity there is nothing corresponding in the description of the prophesying of Montanus (§ 7). Does it mean that, following his example

(§ 8), they spoke in the congregation? We have at any rate the direct evidence of Origen (Cramer, *Cat.* v. 279) that the Montanist prophetesses did prophesy in the church. That being so, it is interesting to note, by way of contrast, that, in accordance with custom, the sister, of whom Tertullian speaks (*An.* 9) as having fallen into ecstasy in the congregation, was not permitted to relate her vision till the service was over.

16. 9 *his promises*] The promise of the earthly reign of Christ. Cp. 18. 2, note.

10 *the faithful throughout Asia*, etc.] This implies a considerable period and a fairly wide spread of the movement before the excommunication of the Montanists. We may gather from 3. 4 that they were expelled from communion before 178. These assemblies (cp. c. 19) are the first recorded councils in the Christian Church, with the exception of the council at Jerusalem (Acts xv).

12 *Is there a single one*] The Montanists took Matt. xxiii. 34 f. as a prediction of their prophets, and of the persecution which they received from the Catholics. The Anonymous replies that the passage must be interpreted literally, and that in the literal sense it had not been fulfilled in them. He is not insisting that the Montanists had no martyrs, but that none of their *prophets* had suffered martyrdom.

by Jews] Whose animosity against the Christians was well-known at this time and to whom Matt. xxiv. 34 was addressed. See iv. 6. 1; 15. 26, notes.

13 *report says*] The Anonymous does not vouch for the truth of the story. Cp. § 15. This uncertainty contrasts remarkably with his assurance as to the date of the death of Maximilla (§ 19).

14 *Theodotus*] Cp. 3. 4. His title of office may be taken literally: the Montanists had a well-organized system of finance (18. 2).

17 *Asterius Urbanus*] Probably the compiler of the oracles of Maximilla. He is not named elsewhere.

word and spirit and power] Maximilla seems to identify herself with the Divine Being who speaks through her. But the Anonymous evidently took the last three words as meaning "the power that is in the spirit," in accordance with 1 Cor. ii. 4, which Maximilla has apparently in mind. See de Labriolle, *Crise*, 70 f.

Zoticus] Not the Zoticus of § 5, since he came from Cumana.

Cumana] This place was probably near Apamea (from which Julian came); for Zoticus was a favourite name in that district (Ramsay, *Phrygia*, p. 492).

Themiso] See 18. 5. The incident here recorded, which occurred at Pepuza, is mentioned again in 18. 13.

18 *she foretold*] This prediction, evidently based on our Lord's

great eschatological discourse (Matt. xxiv; Mark xiii; Luke xxi), is notable. In the first phase of Montanism Montanus and "the women" were plainly regarded as the last in the succession of prophets (17. 4); and since the Church was never to be without prophets, the end, ushered in by wars and tumults, must come in their life-time or shortly after they died. Thus the imminence of the Parousia was a cardinal doctrine of the Montanists. Cp. 18. 2, third note. The argument implies that Maximilla survived Montanus and Priscilla, as does also the saying of Maximilla (Epiph., *Hær.* 48. 2): "After me there shall be no prophetess, but the end of the world." This may be part of the oracle which lay before Eusebius.

16. 19 *more than thirteen years*] Cp. 17. 4. No period of thirteen years can be found of such profound peace and absence of persecution as is here described. But, allowing for some exaggeration, we may suppose that the reign of Commodus (180-192) is intended. On that assumption the Anonymous wrote about 192 and Maximilla died about 179. See de Labriolle, *Crise*, 580 ff.

20 *had many martyrs in their ranks*] This is not exactly what the Anonymous represents the Montanists to have said. According to him their statement was simply that they had many martyrs; which may mean that many martyrs had sympathized with them. It is highly probable that a number of martyrs, who were not themselves Montanists, protested against the excommunication of the Phrygian sectaries, and in the latter part of the second century that would be counted strong evidence of the power of their prophetic spirit. In fact there is no evidence that the eastern Montanists displayed avidity for martyrdom. Phrygian martyrdoms were rare in the second century (Ramsay, *Phrygia*, chaps. xii, xvii, especially p. 501). Few of the leaders of Phrygian Montanism suffered for the faith (§ 12); Apollonius charges one of them with an unworthy evasion of martyrdom (18. 5). A magistrate in the time of Decius contrasts the conduct of the "Cataphrygians" (*i.e.* Montanists), who had sacrificed, with the obstinacy of the Catholics (*Acta Achatii* 4). Eagerness for martyrdom was, indeed, a characteristic of the Montanists of the school of Tertullian; but his opinion differed in this and other respects from the heresy of the Phrygians. See note, p. 181.

21 *Marcionites*] For Marcionite martyrs see iv. 15. 46; vii. 12; *M.P.* 10. 3.

22 *in our time*] Obviously under Marcus Aurelius. There seems to be no other record of these martyrs at Apamea.

17. 1 *Miltiades*] A man widely known. Though he was an Asian, as the present passage implies, both Tertullian the African (*Val.* 5) and Hippolytus the Roman (see 28. 4 and

28. 1, note) count him as a leading defender of the Faith. For his other writings see § 5 and note. In the extract following he is called Alcibiades, in error. The mistake may be due to a reminiscence of the earlier Montanist leader of that name. Cp. 3. 4, note.

17. 1 *to speak in a state of ecstasy*] Apparently the Montanist prophets spoke while they were in the ecstatic state, while the Catholics argued that the true prophets said nothing till they regained their normal faculties.

3 *the daughters of Philip*] The daughters of Philip the Apostle are not described as prophetesses (see note, p. 161). It would seem therefore that the reference here is to the daughters of Philip the deacon, and that they had migrated to Asia.

Quadratus] See iv. 3. 1.

4 *succeeded to*] διεδέξαντο. This passage proves that the Phrygian Montanists held that there was a succession of prophets in the Church, similar to the succession of bishops. There is no trace of this doctrine in Tertullian's Montanist writings.

the Apostle] Apparently St. Paul. But to what passage in his epistles reference is made is not clear. Possibly the writer has in view Eph. iv. 11–13; or more likely 1 Cor. xiii. 8–10 (cp. "when that which is perfect—τὸ τέλειον—is come" with "until the final—τῆς τελείας—coming"). The Anonymous seems to say that the Church can never be without prophets, though the Montanists had none when he wrote. This implies that he knew of prophets outside Montanism. Cp. 3. 4.

fourteenth year] Cp. 16. 19.

5 *Miltiades*] See § 1. From Tertullian (*Val.* 5) we learn that, in addition to the treatises mentioned here, he wrote against the Valentinians.

the rulers of this world] Probably Marcus Aurelius and one of his co-Augusti.

18. 1 *Apollonius*] Prædestinatus (a very untrustworthy writer of the fifth century) says (i. 26, 27) that Apollonius was bishop of Ephesus. He was at any rate an Asian (§§ 9, 14). His work against the Montanists seems to have been written about 200 (§ 12, note). Jerome (*V.I.* 40) states that it was answered by Tertullian in his lost work *De Ecstasi*.

2 *taught dissolutions of marriages*] This phrase does not imply that Montanus held the view that marriage was unlawful, as has sometimes been assumed. If that were the meaning Apollonius would have written "dissolution" (λύσιν, *sing.*). His language is best explained on the supposition that he permitted, or encouraged, his prophetesses to desert their husbands in order that they might devote themselves to spiritual work. Cp. § 3.

who laid down laws on fasting] ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας. This seems to mean merely that fasts were compulsory, and

not left to the will of the individual. It does not imply that the fasts of the Montanists were more numerous or more severe than those of other Christians (see *Euseb.*, 129 f.).

18. 2 *Pepuza and Tymion*] For the probable position of Pepuza—about fifteen miles west of Eumenia—see Ramsay, *Phrygia*, pp. 243, 573. Tymion must have been near it. The reason for naming these cities Jerusalem is evident. Montanus, like many of the early Fathers, was a Chiliast (cp. iii. 39. 13). It appears that the earthly reign of Christ, which the Chiliasts expected, was to have its centre at Jerusalem (cp. Just., *Dial.* 80). Thus Montanus by calling Pepuza and Tymion Jerusalem made them the Holy City, the scene of the Parousia (Epiph. *Hær.* 48. 14; 49. 1), in the expectation of which the faithful of all nations were to assemble there. In consequence of this his followers were known in later times as the Pepuzians. It is remarkable that there is no mention of Pepuza in Tertullian's extant writings. Contrary to the teaching of Montanus he looked for the reign of the saints in Judæa (*Marc.* iii. 24).

agents] So Theodotus was "the first steward," 16. 14.

salaries] A similar innovation caused scandal at Rome about this time. See 28. 10.

3 *virgin*] It is implied that in the Montanist system there was an order of virgins. That a woman who had been married should be received into such an order is not unnatural. See Lightfoot's note on Ign., *Smyrn.* 13 ("the virgins who are called widows").

4 *Scripture*] No such injunction occurs in the canonical writings. Apollonius may refer to *Didache* 11: "If [an apostle] ask for money he is a false prophet." But it is doubtful whether the *Didache* is as early as the second century: see iii. 25. 4, note.

the prophetess] Harnack (*Chron.* i. 370) and Zahn (*Forsch.* v. 21 ff.) suppose that this prophetess (mentioned also in § 6) was Maximilla or Priscilla, and the prophet of § 7 Montanus. But the last of the original prophetic trio was already about twenty years dead (16. 18; 18. 12, notes), and Apollonius (*pace* Zahn, whose argument is not convincing) seems to be speaking of persons who were alive when he wrote. Cp. de Labriolle, *Crise*, 584 ff.

5 *a catholic epistle*] If "the Apostle" whom Themiso imitated, as seems probable, is St. Paul (cp. 17. 4), the "catholic epistle" may mean a letter addressed to a Christian community, as distinct from a letter to an individual. Or possibly it may have been an encyclical, in imitation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (see J. A. Robinson, *Ephesians*, p. 11). If "the Apostle" is St. John, it may mean a letter addressed to the whole Church. Cp. iv. 23. 1, note.

5, 6 *a martyr*] The word is used in its older sense (see 2. 2, note).

7 *Does the prophet forgive*] This sentence insinuates that both

prophets and martyrs were regarded by the Montanists as having authority to absolve. Tertullian, in his Montanist days, allowed this prerogative to the prophets, but not to the martyrs (*Pud.*, 21, 22).

18. 9 *Æmilius Frontinus*] Otherwise unknown.

10 *knows nothing of him*] A true prophet would have gauged his character. See Luke vii. 39; John iv. 19; ix. 3, 17; cp. Chase's exposition of Matt. x. 41 in *J.T.S.* viii. 169.

his claim to be a prophet] τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ προφήτου. ὑπόστασις is found in the papyri (cp. *Oxyr. Pap.*, vol. ii, p. 151, no. 336 7) in the sense of "title-deeds," "documents which substantiate a claim," and Mr. R. M. Gwynn suggests that this may be the force of the word here.

11 If there is any truth in the statements here made, Eastern Montanism cannot have enjoined asceticism. In this respect it differed widely from the Montanism of Tertullian.

12 *fortieth year*] Assuming that Montanus began to prophesy in 156–7 (cp. note, p. 180), Harnack (*Chron.* i. 370, 381) concludes from this passage that Apollonius' treatise should be dated 196–7. But when the Anonymous wrote, *c.* 192, there were no Montanist prophets (16. 19). On the other hand, when Apollonius wrote the sect claimed to have both a prophet and a prophetess (§§ 4, 6, 7, 10: note the words "many years"). This points to a recrudescence of prophetic activity which demands an interval of more than four years after the work of the Anonymous. Apollonius may therefore be supposed to have written as late as 200. But if so, his "fortieth year" cannot be reckoned from the earliest prophesying of Montanus at Ardabau in 156–7. There is, however, another epoch in the movement which might be regarded as its beginning—the constitution of Pepuza as its head-quarters. The immediate context (§ 13) leads us to suppose that it was to it that Apollonius looked back. This impression is confirmed by the fact that § 13 is a deliberate repetition of a story of the Anonymous (16. 17). Eusebius, no doubt, referred to it here because Apollonius adds one detail, as to which the Anonymous was silent—that the scene was Pepuza. It is, in fact, remarkable that Apollonius lays stress on Pepuza (§§ 2, 13), but apparently said nothing about Ardabau; while the Anonymous begins his polemic with the proceedings at Ardabau (16. 6 ff.), and in the extant fragments of his work never mentions Pepuza. It is true that the words, "since Montanus had begun his pretended prophesying," suggest Ardabau rather than Pepuza. But Eusebius' paraphrases must be taken for what they are worth. We may conclude, then, that Apollonius regarded the migration from Ardabau to Pepuza as the beginning of Montanism, and that he wrote not much earlier than 200. But not much later: for he mentioned Thraseas as a martyr at the time (τότε) when Zoticus attempted to exorcize Maximilla at Pepuza (§ 14)—that is to say, forty years or less before he

wrote. But, as we shall see (24. 4, 5, note), Thraseas suffered, at the latest, in 165. Hence we may date Apollonius' polemic between 200 and 205. We incline to the earlier of these two years; for the later suggests the year 165 for the settlement at Pepuza—*i.e.*, eight years after the first prophesying—which is improbable.

18. 13 *Zoticus*] See 16. 17.

14 *Thraseas*] See 24. 4.

twelve years] Cp. Clement of Alexandria's quotation from the Preaching of Peter in *Strom.* vi. 5. 43 : " After twelve years go ye forth into the world, lest anyone say, 'We did not hear.' " Cp. *Acts of Peter* 5 (James, p. 307).

19. 1 *Apollinarius*] See iv. 27, note.

Serapion] See vi. 12. 1, note.

epistle] ἐπιστολῇ. This word is used for Serapion's polemic against Montanism also in § 3. The writing of Apollinarius, to which it refers (§ 2), is probably a letter (γράμματα; cp. § 4); though sometimes the word γράμματα is used for lengthy treatises (28. 4).

2 *by the whole brotherhood*] The reference is to the signatures of the bishops appended to the letter of Apollinarius (§§ 3, 4).

3 *in this epistle*] More accurately in the " letter " of Apollinarius : cp. § 4. The inaccuracy of the present statement is explained on the supposition that Serapion copied the letter as an appendix to his epistle (Zahn, *Forsch.* v. 7). But see § 4, note.

martyr] The word is used in its wider sense. Cp. 2. 2, note.

Develtum . . . Anchialus] Two towns in north-eastern Thrace, about ten miles apart. Their present names are Burgas and Anchijelo.

Sotas] Possibly equivalent to Zoticus. But this Sotas is obviously a different person from either of those who are called Zoticus in 16. 5, 17. For the incident here mentioned cp. 16. 17; 18. 13.

4 *autograph signatures . . . in the said letter*] Apparently the " said letter " is the letter of Apollinarius. If so, the " autograph (αὐτόγραφοι) signatures " must be explained as indicating copies of the notes composed by the assenting bishops, and originally written by their own hands. The phrase " are extant " (φέρονται), in fact, suggests a copy, rather than the original. De Labriolle, however (*Crise*, p. 155), takes a different view. He thinks that the reference is to Serapion's epistle; he holds that the epistle gave an account of the conclusions of an anti-Montanist synod, which was corroborated by the signatures of some of the bishops who had been present at it. This hypothesis, if we may assume that Eusebius had before him the autograph letter of Serapion, relieves us of some difficulties (see first note on § 3) : but, on the whole, it seems less probable than the generally received opinion (§§ 1, 2, notes).

Note on Montanism.

v. 1–5, 14, 16–19.

The fullest and most satisfactory work on Montanism is that of Pierre de Labriolle, published in 1913. It includes two volumes. In the first (*Les Sources de l'histoire du Montanisme*) he has collected and translated all the passages in early writers which refer to the movement, and has discussed their value in an exhaustive introduction. In the second (*La Crise Montaniste*) he deals with its origin and history. A summary account of the sect is given in *E.R.E.*, viii. 828 ff. Of the sources, apart from the extracts from second-century writers given by Eusebius, which are of the highest value, the most important are the oracles of Montanus, Maximilla and Priscilla (collected and commented on in de Labriolle, *Crise*, chap. ii) and the ancient document which underlies the greater part of Epiph., *Hær.* 48. The latter seems to have been written after the death of Maximilla (179), and before the treatise of Apollonius (c. 18), by a Phrygian who had heard Montanus (*Euseb.*, p. 127; L. G. Voigt, *Eine verschollene Urkunde des anti-mont. Kampfes*, pp. 108, 208 ff.).

Hippolytus (*Ref.* viii. 19) tells us that the Montanists claimed that the Paraclete had come to be in the prophetesses and Montanus; and Pseudo-Tertullian *adv. Hær.* 7, perhaps copying the *Syntagma* of the same writer (vi. 22, note, p. 211), adds that they denied that the Apostles had received Him. Accordingly Tertullian ascribes oracles, which he quotes, to the Spirit or the Paraclete (*Fug.*, 9; *Res.*, 11; *Prax.*, 8; *Pud.*, 21). This indicates with sufficient clearness the basis of Montanism. The members of the sect believed that the promise of the Paraclete (John xiv. 15–17, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7–14) was fulfilled in the prophesying of their leaders, and especially in that of Montanus himself. Their oracles were, in fact, the final revelation. This doctrine, it is true, is not directly mentioned in the quotations of Eusebius; but it is stated, as it appears in an exaggerated form, by him, doubtless on the authority of an early source (c. 14: see notes). It explains the depreciation of the apostles, and even of the teaching of Christ, with which their enemies frequently charged them.

The date of the beginning of Montanism is still a matter of debate. Eusebius in his *Chronicle* (p. 288) puts under the year 172 the "exordium" of the false prophecy of Montanus and the women: intending no doubt to indicate its approximate date. De Labriolle (*Crise*, 570 ff.) accepts this as probably not far astray. But, in common with other writers, he supposes Eusebius to have grounded it on the hypothesis that the anti-Montanist treatise of Apollinarius was later than his Apology. There is serious reason, however, to question

the soundness of that hypothesis (iv. 27, note). Further, it is difficult to believe that the incidents of the movement which we can place with confidence before the death of Maximilla in 179 (16. 19, note) were comprised in a period of seven or eight years (16. 9, 10, notes); and that a movement which so soon after its inception was deprived of its leaders (16. 18, note) could have attained the strength and stability which it undoubtedly possessed (cp. *E.R.E.* viii. 828). Moreover, Apollonius mentions the martyrdom of Thrascas as having taken place at an early stage of the movement, though apparently not at its beginning (18. 14). But it seems that he suffered not later than 165 (24. 4, 5, note). It may be added that we cannot assume that Eusebius' date is that of the first prophesying of Montanus. Priscilla and Maximilla, who are associated with him in the note in the *Chronicle*, probably did not join him till a later time. It is possible that Eusebius had in view some event which brought the movement into prominence.

Scholars who recognize that the movement must have begun much earlier than 172 turn to Epiphanius. He tells us (*Hær.* 48. 1), doubtless copying his source, that the heresy of the Phrygians came into being about the nineteenth year of Antoninus Pius, *i.e.* 156–7. This date has been accepted by Bonwetsch (Hertzug-Hauch, *Prob. Real-Encycl.* xiii. 418 ff.), Zahn (*Forsch.* v. 55) and Harnack (*Chron.* i. 380); and it has been assumed in the foregoing notes. But it must be confessed that Epiphanius, who is notoriously inaccurate, is not a reliable authority. All that can be said is that the date which he gives is likely to be approximately correct. The exact date of the beginning of Montanism cannot be finally determined with certainty till some archæologist discovers the year in which Gratus (16. 7) was proconsul of Asia.

It may be well to remind the reader that the Montanism of the East, with which alone we are concerned here, differed materially from the African Montanism which developed later under the influence of Tertullian. See the notes on 16. 7, 9, 20; 17. 4; 18. 2, 7, 11.

20. 1 *Blastus*] See c. 15.

this opinion] Possibly he held, like Marcion, that the Demiurge was distinct from the supreme God, thus rejecting the divine Monarchy—*i.e.* the unity of the ἀρχή of the Godhead (cp. 13. 3); and that the Demiurge created evil.

on another occasion] αὖθις. Clearly Eusebius thought that the treatise *On the Ogdoad* was later than the letter *On Monarchy*. But perhaps he based this conclusion on insufficient evidence. He may, for example, have made the chronological inference from the respective positions of the letter and the treatise in a roll which contained both. Cp.

Introd., p. 33 f. It is probable that the two writings were not far apart in time. For their date see § 4, note.

20. 1 *On the Ogdoad*] Lost; though some extant fragments of Irenæus may belong to it (*D.C.B.* iii. 264). The doctrine of the Ogdoad (the eight principal Æons) is an important feature of Valentinianism.

first succession from the apostles] This indicates a date for the birth of Irenæus early in the second century (see iii. 36. 1, note; 37. 4). Cp. the similar phrase in 11. 2. It will be observed that Eusebius bases his opinion on a statement of Irenæus himself.

2 *charming note*] Such a note can hardly have been appended to a letter. We may infer that the tractate was not cast in epistolary form, and not addressed to Florinus. Accordingly in § 4 Eusebius speaks of "the aforesaid letter to Florinus" as though he had mentioned only one letter.

4 *to Florinus*] Eusebius, who is not often wrong in such matters, puts this letter, as also the letter to Blastus and the tract *On the Ogdoad*, under Eleutherus (Pref. 1; 22). At one time Lightfoot (*S.R.* 98 f.) argued with much force that the treatise *On the Ogdoad* (and with it the letter to Florinus) was anterior to the work *On Heresies* (see 6. 4, note), on the ground that after the elaborate discussion of Valentinianism in it, a special polemic against the Ogdoad would have been superfluous. But later (*Ign.* i. 445), following Lipsius (*D.C.B.* iii. 263 f.), he brought down the date to the episcopate of Victor, *i.e.* in or after 190. Harnack agrees (*Chron.* i. 321). This date is founded on a letter of Irenæus to Victor, a fragment of which is extant in a Syriac translation (Harvey, ii. 457, frag. xxviii), urging him to condemn Florinus, in which Irenæus has been understood to imply that Florinus was at that time a Roman presbyter. Zahn, however (*Forsch.* vi. 31 ff.), maintains that the letter has been misinterpreted; and he seems to have shown that Florinus may have been dead when it was written. Moreover, on the theory of Lipsius we must suppose that a Roman presbyter was a notorious heretic, and that the bishop was unaware of the fact till he was informed of it by Irenæus: a situation which Lipsius (*ib.*) admits to be inexplicable with our present knowledge. But his interpretation of the letter to Victor is beset with other difficulties. If we assume (as he does) that the writings *On Monarchy* and *On the Ogdoad* both preceded it, it contradicts c. 15 (see note there). On the other hand, if they followed it, we must accept the improbable hypothesis that Irenæus remonstrated with Florinus after he himself had demanded his deprivation at the hands of Victor. And further we must believe that Victor (if he complied with the request of Irenæus) was content to degrade his heretical presbyter, without excommunicating him (see next note):

which is all but incredible. Hence we are obliged to return to Lightfoot's earlier opinion that the letter to Florinus and the treatise *On the Ogdoad* were among the earliest writings of Irenæus, composed in the first half of the episcopate of Eleutherus, and probably not later than 180.

20. 4 *the heretics outside the Church*] Florinus had evidently not abandoned the Church, though (c. 15, note) he was no longer a presbyter.

5 *still a boy*] The word "boy" (παῖς) is ambiguous. But the context portrays Irenæus as a man of advanced age, looking back to a very remote and impressionable period of his life. We cannot be far wrong if, with Zahn, we suppose that he refers to a time when he was about fifteen years old. Cp. iv. 14. 4.

lower Asia] The low-lying part of the province, along the coast.

the imperial court] It is not clear that this phrase necessarily implies the presence of the Emperor. But it seems natural to understand it in this sense. Assuming that it is so to be interpreted here, three suggestions have been made as to the year to which Irenæus refers. (1) Zahn (*Forsch.* vi. 30) and some earlier writers recall the well-attested fact that the Emperor Hadrian visited Asia in 129, and suppose that he stayed for some time at Smyrna. (2) Lightfoot (*Ign.* i. 449) reminds us that Titus Aurelius Fulvus was proconsul of Asia about 136, not long before he succeeded to the throne as Antoninus Pius, and thinks that his establishment might have been called "the imperial court" by prolepsis. But he was not enamoured of his own suggestion. (3) Harnack (*Chron.* i. 329) points to an alleged sojourn of Antoninus Pius in Asia in 154. But the evidence for this visit is far from strong; and it must be borne in mind that for some part of 154 or 155 Polycarp was at Rome (24. 16) and that he seems to have been martyred early in 155 or 156 (iv. 15. 1, note). Of these three hypotheses the first seems the most satisfactory, though Lightfoot, Harnack and Lipsius (*D.C.B.* iii. 254) hold that it gives a too early date for the birth of Irenæus. If it is adopted we must suppose that in 129 Irenæus was about fifteen years old, and Florinus at least twenty-five. See § 1 note, and the first note on the present section.

7 *he would have cried aloud*] Cp. iv. 14. 6 f.

8 *his letters*] We know only one letter of Polycarp (see iii. 36. 13), and Irenæus refers to it elsewhere as if it were the only one that he had seen (iv. 14. 8). But ἐπιστολαί may mean a single letter. See vi. 43. 3, note.

21. 1 *throughout the whole world*] An exaggeration: see Gwatkin i. 166–170.

2 *Apollonius*] Eusebius (see § 5) got his information about Apollonius from the Acts of his martyrdom. An Armenian

version of part of them was printed by the Mechitarists of Venice in 1874. In 1893 it was introduced to scholars by Conybeare in an English translation, which may be read in his *Monuments* (1896). A recension of the original Greek was published in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xiv. (1895), p. 284 ff. It has been re-edited, with a German translation of the Armenian, in *A.M.S.*, p. 44. Unfortunately the extant Acts tell us nothing of the proceedings before Apollonius was brought before the Senate. Apollonius was a convert from heathenism (*Acta Arm.*, 15, 16). Jerome (*V.I.* 42) states that he was a senator; which is probably true. For a discussion of the questions raised by the martyrdom see E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, i., 1906, pp. 155–162.

21. 2 *his ministers*] The demon's ministers. There is no ground for the statement often made (after Jerome *ib.*) that the informer was a slave.

3 *an imperial decree*] This is perhaps an allusion to the spurious rescript to the Commune Asiæ (iv. 13. 7). It is improbable that any such decree was in force under Commodus. But that Eusebius found some warrant for his statement in the Acts seems to be shown by the fact that in the extant Greek Acts (c. 45) the martyr (not the informer) is sentenced to death by breaking of the legs, with a reference in the context to a decree of Commodus. J. E. B. Mayor, however, in his note on Tert. *Apol.* 5 suggests (p. 178 f.) that the reference is to the Greek version of that chapter (above, ii. 5. 6).

Perennius] Perennis (the correct form of the name) was appointed prætorian prefect in 183. Harnack (*Chron.* i. 317) shows that he was out of office in 185. The martyrdom may therefore be dated between 183 and 185. The Armenian *Acta Apoll.* read Tarruntenus (Conybeare, *Monuments*, Append.) *i.e.* Paternus Tarruntenus, who was the predecessor of Perennis. If that reading is correct, the martyrdom took place between 180 and 183.

4 *decree of the Senate*] It is mentioned several times in the *Acta Apoll.* See §§ 13, 14 (Grk.), 23, 45 (Arm.). In § 23 its purport is given: "that Christians ought not to exist" (Χριστιανοὺς μὴ εἶναι). Cp. Tert. *Apol.* 4: "I will grapple with you on the subject of the laws, since you are the guardians of the laws. How harshly do you lay it down in your utterance, 'It is unlawful for Christians to exist (non licet esse vos).'" Sulp. Severus, *Historia Sacra*, ii. 29: "Thus did the attack on the Christians begin; afterwards laws were also passed forbidding the religion, and edicts were openly published which made it unlawful for a Christian to exist." *Acts of Codratius* (Conybeare, *Mon.*, p. 198): "Thou knowest the edict of the Emperors and of the great Senate . . . that not a single one of the Christians shall live."

5 *the ancient martyrdoms*] See iv. 15. 47, note.

22. *Victor*] Pope *c.* 189–*c.* 199. See Introd. p. 44.

Serapion] The successor of Maximin (19. 1). His episcopate began in 11 Commodus (*Chronicle*, p. 291), *i.e.* 191.

23. 1 *question . . . arose*] The controversy began under Victor and before the death of Commodus, *i.e.* between 189 and 192. It seems that Maximin, bishop of Antioch, took part in it (Harnack, *Chron.* i. 211, 323). If so, it must have begun immediately after the accession of Victor (c. 22, note). On the matters at issue see F. E. Brightman in *J.T.S.* xxv. 254 ff.

the festival] This passage shows that the Quartodeciman Easter was celebrated on (not, as is often stated, two days after) 14 Nisan. It should be noted that at this period there was apparently no commemoration of the Passion apart from Easter. Eusebius calls Easter Day, including the vigil, the Festival of the Passion of the Saviour (ii. 17. 21, note).

3 *Narcissus*] See 12. 1, note; vi. 9–11, and note, p. 167; and for the synod here mentioned c. 25. The church of Jerusalem was a very obscure community during the greater part of the second century, especially after the foundation of Ælia, which destroyed its connexion with the past (iv. 5; v. 12). That its bishop with the bishop of Cæsarea presided over a synod of the Palestinian churches shows that it had already attained some prominence. Its growing importance was probably due to the fame of Narcissus, and to the *Memoirs* of Hegesippus written during his episcopate. Hegesippus had apparently maintained the identity of the new church of Ælia with the older Hebrew church, and he certainly affirmed that it had preserved at least one monument of the apostolic age (ii. 23. 18).

Palmas] Bishop of Amastris (iv. 23. 6).

Irenæus] See c. 26, note.

was bishop] Or, as we should say, metropolitan. See Harnack, *Expansion*, i. 461.

24. 1 *Polycrates*] Bishop of Ephesus (c. 22). His letter quoted below was written some little time after the beginning of the Paschal controversy. Victor had sent to Polycrates an angry letter (§§ 7, 8) requiring him to summon a synod to discuss the question. Polycrates wrote his reply at the close of the synod and apparently before the bishops had dispersed (§ 8). It may therefore be dated in 191. Since Polycrates was then 65 years of age (§ 7, note) he must have been born about 126. His claim to an accurate knowledge of Asian tradition is therefore probably well founded.

the church of the Romans] Victor had written in the name of the church of Rome (§ 8, note) and Polycrates replies to the church as a body (§ 6, "the least of you all"). Cp. iv. 23. 10.

2 *without tampering*, etc.] Cp. iv. 23. 12: "cutting out . . . adding . . . tamper with."

24. 2 *luminaries*] στοιχεῖα. *lit.* elements; but the word is used for the heavenly bodies (cp. 2 Pet. iii. 10, 12). The names which follow are apparently in chronological sequence. John, Polycarp, Papirius (see below) are certainly in the order of date; and so are Sagaris and Melito (iv. 26. 3, 4).

Philip] See note, p. 116. We may infer (see last note) that Philip died before John.

who lived in the Holy Spirit] The same words are used in § 5 (see note) of Melito, where they do not appear to indicate virginity. It would seem, in fact, that Philip's third daughter was married. This would account for her death at Ephesus, rather than in the home of her father at Hierapolis; and for the statement that her sisters were virgins.

3 *the sacerdotal plate*] πέταλον, the "plate of pure gold," on which were engraved the words "Holy to Jehovah," and which was attached to the high priest's mitre (Ex. xxviii. 36). Hegesippus seems to have said that James the Just wore the petalon (ii. 23. 6, note). Zahn notes that the positions of James in Palestine and of John in Asia were similar; each being, as it were, a bishop of bishops, and so a high priest (*Forsch.* vi. 213). It will be remembered that James appears to have been regarded by Hegesippus as the successor of Christ (ii. 23. 4, note). St. Mark, according to his lost *Passion*, wore the petalon (Valois).

martyr] Cp. Rev. i. 2. The word is used in its older and more comprehensive sense (2. 2, note).

4, 5 *Thraseas . . . Sagaris*] Assuming (§ 2, note) that Polycrates names the "luminaries" in chronological order, the martyrdom of Thraseas was earlier than that of Sagaris. But the latest date for the death of Sagaris seems to be Easter 166 (iv. 26. 3, notes). Consequently the latest date for the martyrdom of Thraseas is 165—the day being October 27, according to the Syriac Martyrology. But we can perhaps fix it more definitely. Apparently it took place not quite forty years before Apollonius' anti-Montanist tract was penned, in other words shortly after 160 (18. 12, note), perhaps 162. Thus we can give a series of approximate dates: martyrdom of Polycarp (iv. 15. 1, note) and rise of Montanism (note, p. 180), *c.* 156: Pepuza named Jerusalem (18. 12, note), *c.* 160: martyrdom of Thraseas, *c.* 162; martyrdom of Sagaris, *c.* 164. If these dates are not very wide of the mark, L. Sergius Paulus was proconsul of Asia in 166 7, and not in any year before 162 (cp. iv. 26. 3, note).

5 *Papirius*] The immediate successor of Polycarp in the bishopric of Smyrna (*Vita Pol.* 27). The silence of Polycrates implies that he was not a martyr.

Melito] Bishop of Sardis. See iv. 26. 1, note.

eunuch] Perhaps to be taken, not literally, but as meaning that he was a celibate. But however we understand the

word, the following phrase, "who lived in the Holy Spirit," can hardly mean that he lived in virginity. It may suggest that he was a prophet; but it is most satisfactorily interpreted as a reference to his piety. This best suits the words "in all things."

24. 5 *visitation*] ἐπισκοπήν. The meaning is uncertain.

7 *sixty-five years*] Zahn contends that the years are reckoned from his baptism, and that he was not baptized in infancy (*Forsch.* vi. 214). But it seems more likely that Polycrates counts his years from his birth. He had "*ever* lived in Christ Jesus" (§ 8); a statement which is hardly consistent with Zahn's hypothesis.

8 *ye yourselves*] Plural. Victor wrote in the name of the church.

9 *endeavoured*] Apparently his attempt was frustrated.

12 *the fast*] The fast preceding Easter.

forty continuous hours] "From the meal which followed the Friday half-fast till after the Liturgy and Communion on Sunday morning" (*J.T.S.* xxv. 256).

14 *before Soter*] The bishops of Rome before Soter are named in reverse chronological order. The episcopates of Soter and Eleutherus are ignored, probably because the Quartodeciman controversy had become a burning question in their time. See c. 15, note on Blastus.

more obnoxious] Because the Quartodecimans maintained their custom in Rome itself.

16 *Polycarp*] See iv. 14. 1, note.

18 *negotiate*, etc.] Cp. 3. 4.

name] Irenæus means "peaceful."

25. *Narcissus and Theophilus*] See 23. 3.

and with them] Thus among those who attended the Palestinian synod were the bishops of Tyre and Ptolemais in Syria beyond the borders of the province of Palestine.

26. *Irenæus*] We may summarize here what is known of the life of this remarkable man. He was a native of Asia, and in his boyhood listened to the preaching of Polycarp at Smyrna (20. 6). It was probably in his youth that he migrated to the West, and he spent a great part of his life at Lyons in Gaul. It seems that when he was approaching middle age he was again a hearer of Polycarp (iv. 14. 3). He was a presbyter when he was sent by the Gallican Christians to Rome to negotiate with Eleutherus, apparently with reference to the Montanist movement (3. 4; 4. 1, 2). Shortly afterwards (in 178) he succeeded to the martyr Pothinus as bishop of Lyons (5. 8). A few years later he wrote his work *Against Heresies* (6. 4, note), the most important Christian writing which has survived from the second century. He lived to the episcopate of Victor (189–199), in the early years of which he played a notable part in the Paschal Controversy (24. 11–18).

Since we hear no more of him after that time, it is probable that he died about 195. There is great uncertainty as to the date of his birth. But it seems probable that he was a boy in 129 (20. 5, notes), and consequently that he was born about 115. See also iii. 18. 3; v. 20. 1, notes. Lightfoot, however, (*Ign.* i. 448), dates his birth between 120 and 130, and Harnack (*Chron.* i. 324 ff.) about 140. The latter date implies that he was only once a hearer of Polycarp, and that in the last year or so of Polycarp's life. On the other hand if he was born in 115 he was over sixty when he was made bishop.

26. *cited*] The works *Against Heresies* (7. 1, etc.), *On the Ogdoad* (20. 1) and the Epistles to Florinus, Blastus (20. 1) and Victor (24. 11).

the Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching] Of the treatises mentioned here this is the only one now extant. An Armenian version of it was found in 1904 at Eriwan in Armenia by Dr. Karapet Ter-Mekerttshian, and was edited with a German translation (*T.U.* xxxi. 1). Dr. J. A. Robinson gave us an E.T. in 1920 (*St. Irenæus, The Demonstration*, etc., S.P.C.K.). The *Demonstration* was written after the work *Against Heresies*, which is mentioned in it (c. 99). "It is a handbook of Christian Evidence, though its form is not controversial" (Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 2).

book of various discourses] For fragments of this lost collection of sermons, see Bardenhewer, i. 417. Cp. above, 20. 6.

Severus] Commodus was murdered 31 December 192. Publius Helvius Pertinax was immediately elected by the Prætorian Guards and accepted by the Senate. He was assassinated on 28 March 193. The empire was then actually sold by auction to Didius Julianus. He was executed 2 June 193: and Lucius Septimius Severus, who had been acclaimed Emperor in April, maintained his throne against other rivals. Eusebius gives the period up to June to Pertinax, ignoring Julian.

27. *the Origin of Evil*, etc.] Eusebius quotes a long passage from a treatise On Matter, ascribing it to Maximus, in *Præp. Ev.* vii. 21. 5, 22. It is obviously taken from the treatise here mentioned. Basil and Gregory of Nyssa include the passage in Orig. *Phil.*, avowing that they transcribed it from Eusebius, but stating that it was word for word in a work of Origen against Marcionists and other heretics. Dr. J. Armitage Robinson (*Philocalia*, pp. xl xlvi) has proved that both Eusebius and the writers of the *Philocalia* were mistaken, and that the true source of the extract is the *Dialogue on Free Will* of Methodius, a contemporary of Eusebius. Eusebius seems to antedate the treatise by about a century. Of the other writers and treatises mentioned in this chapter nothing is known.

28. 1 *by one of these*] *i.e.* by one of the anonymous writers referred to in the previous sentence.

against the heresy of Artemon] The extracts from this work given below are concerned, not with Artemon, but with Theodotus the cobbler, another writer of the same type. This is explained by a passage of Theodoret (*H.F.* ii. 5), in which he says that a book was written "against these persons" (*i.e.* Theodotus and Artemon), called *The Little Labyrinth*, which some ascribed—wrongly as he thinks—to Origen. From it he proceeds to quote the story about Natalius (§§ 8–12 below). It is clear therefore that the work with which Eusebius is here dealing is *The Little Labyrinth*, that it was a polemical writing against the two kindred heresies of the Artemonites and the Theodotians, and that Eusebius, though he suggests that he is about to cull from it information about the former, actually confines his quotations to the latter. In fact little is known about the distinctive teaching of Artemon (cp. vii. 30. 16 f., and notes). The title *Little Labyrinth* distinguishes this anonymous writing from another known as *The Labyrinth* (Photius, 48). The latter is almost certainly the tenth book of Hippol. *Ref.*, which was circulated apart (vi. 22, note, p. 211 f.). It may have got this title from its opening words, "Having broken through the labyrinth of heresies." So Lightfoot, *Clem.* ii. 379. Lightfoot (*ib.*) and Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 224 f.) suppose the author of the *Little Labyrinth* to have been Hippolytus; and the objections of Salmon, who inclined to attribute it to Gaius (*D.C.B.* iii. 98), are not fatal to their opinion. For an argument against Gaius see § 14, note. Harnack points out that if Hippolytus was the author, the treatise must have been considerably later than the *Refutation*, which does not mention Artemon. Its date is therefore as late as 230 (see vi. 22, note, p. 211).

endeavoured to revive] Cp. vii. 30. 16, 17.

3 *Peter*] Not Peter and Paul. Cp. iii. 2, note.

his successor Zephyrinus] The treatise was evidently written some time after the death of Zephyrinus (217). Cp. §§ 8, 12, and § 1, note.

4 *Justin*] See iv. 8. 3, note.

Miltiades] See 17. 1, 5.

Tatian] See iv. 28, note.

Clement] Clement of Alexandria. See 11. 1, note.

5 *Irenæus*] See c. 26, note.

Melito] See iv. 26. 1, note.

psalms or songs] Paul of Samosata, and no doubt the Artemonites, denied the antiquity of these compositions (vii. 30. 10).

6 *Theodotus the cobbler*] Apart from the present passage our knowledge of this heretic is derived from the *Refutation* of Hippolytus, vii. 35, and his *Syntagma* (see vi. 22, note, p. 212).

According to him Theodotus was a native of Byzantium. He held that Jesus was a mere man, though born of a virgin; and that after Christ had descended upon Him at His baptism He received power to work miracles.

28. 7 *ten years*] Comparing c. 22 with this passage we should expect "about twelve years." The true date seems to be 189–199. See Introd. p. 44.

8 *in our day*] This implies a considerable period between the event and the writing of the *Little Labyrinth*. Cp. §§ 1, 3, notes.

9 *Asclepiodotus. . . . Theodotus, a banker*] Disciples of Theodotus the cobbler. Of the former nothing is known. The latter was the founder of the Melchizedekian sect which held that Melchizedek was greater than Christ (Hippol. *Ref.* vii. 36). See *D.C.B.* iii. 889.

10 *title of bishop*] Natalius appears to have been the first known anti-pope.

a salary] Cp. 18. 2.

11 *a witness*] Or martyr (μάρτυς), *i.e.* a confessor (§ 8). Cp. 2. 2, note.

13 *syllogism*] The gravamen seems to be that they were Aristotelians (cp. § 14), and had rejected the dominant Platonism. We are reminded of the *Syllogismi* of the heretic Apelles, in which he "blasphemed the divine words" (13. 9, and note).

14 *since they are of the earth*] A sarcastic remark suggested by the word "geometry" (measure of the earth). Since it is based on a passage of the Gospel according to St. John (iii. 31), it can hardly have been written by Gaius (cp. § 1, note), who rejected that Gospel (vi. 20. 3, note).

Theophrastus] A favourite pupil and successor of Aristotle.

Galen] The famous physician, who was born in A.D. 130 and died in 201, or perhaps some years later. He lived at Rome 164–167, and again for some years from 170. He was therefore a contemporary of the heretics mentioned in the text, and probably well known to them. He was an Aristotelian. See Bardy, p. 393.

15 *corrected them*] In other words, they were textual critics of the Septuagint.

16 *Asclepiades*] Perhaps the person who is called Asclepiodotus in § 9.

17 *Hermophilus. . . . Apolloniades*] Nothing is known of them. But no doubt they were disciples of Theodotus, the cobbler or the banker.

1. *Severus also*] The word *also* seems to refer to the persecution of Marcus Aurelius, recorded in v. Pref., 1.

Severus . . . was stirring up persecution] There is considerable difficulty about this statement. Severus was on the whole not hostile to the Christians, though a certain amount of persecution took place in his reign, mainly due to the action of local governors. Spartian (*Severus* 16 f.), however, writes that on his way to Alexandria, when passing through Palestine, he made an order forbidding the Jews to make proselytes, and that he issued (apparently somewhat later) a similar order against the Christians. The earlier order seems to have been issued in 199 (Clermont Ganneau in *Compt. rend. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* 1904, Jan.–Feb., p. 54). Possibly the later was put forth at Alexandria, and was simply an instruction to the prefect, applying only to Egypt. This would explain Eusebius' assertion that there were more martyrs in Egypt at this time than elsewhere. It would also explain the fact that persecution just then increased in severity in Syria and Africa—for neighbouring governors who were hostile to the Church would be emboldened to use harsh measures by the Emperor's direction at Alexandria. But if so, the order of Severus must have been exceeded : for the Egyptian martyrs were not all recent converts (*e.g.* Leonides). Moreover, Eusebius is guilty of exaggeration, for there is no ground for supposing that Severus inaugurated a persecution throughout the Empire. On the other hand, a law against proselytizing would especially affect the Catechetical School; and we know that its work was interrupted for a time by this persecution (see below, 3. 1). For the reason which may have actuated the Emperor, and a discussion of the whole subject, see Tollinton, ii. 314 ff.

Among these] *i.e.* the "champions" who came from Egypt and the Thebais. It would seem that Leonides was not a native of Alexandria.

known as] λεγόμενος. The fact that he was the father of Origen was his title to fame.

2. 1 *letters*] Cp. 36. 3 f.

2 *Laetus*] Quintus Maecius Laetus, Prefect of Egypt (*Oxyr. Pap.* viii. No. 1111; xii. No. 1548). His period of office seems to have ended 203–4 (3. 3).

just then] A curious error. Demetrius had already been in office twelve or thirteen years. See v. 22.

2. 4 *through his mother*] According to Photius, 118, the following story was told by Origen himself in one of his letters; and Rufinus states that it was related in the letter quoted in § 6, which he seems to have read. Cp. 31. 1, third note, and 36. 3, note.

7 *customary curriculum*] ἐγκυκλίων παιδεία, the regular studies of boys: γράμματα, music and gymnastics.

11 *that they tell*] *i.e.* apparently the pupils of Origen: see § 1.

12 *seventeen*] Since Leonides seems to have suffered early in the persecution, which began in 203 (§ 2), Origen was probably born in 186.

3. 1 *by the threat*] After the order was given, and before it was actually carried into effect. The meaning is evidently not that the whole church was dispersed, but that the Catechetical School was broken up, and that its head had left Alexandria.

2 *Plutarch*] see 4. 1.

Heraclas] Heraclas, who as we learn from this passage was a heathen, won to the faith by Origen, was older than his master. He first became known to Origen as a fellow-student under Ammonius Saccas, whose lectures he had attended five years before Origen began to do so. His birth may therefore be dated about 180. He was ordained presbyter while Origen was still living at Alexandria, and after his ordination he continued to wear a philosopher's cloak, and to study Greek literature (19. 13 f.). He was associated with Origen as a teacher in the Catechetical School for many years (c. 15), and was in charge of it for a short time after Origen left Alexandria in 231–2. He was appointed bishop probably in 233, and died in 247 (cc. 26, 35; cp. note, p. 265).

3 *came to preside over the Catechetical School*] Jerome (*V.I.* 54) says that he succeeded Clement. See c. 6, note.

Aquila] Subatianus Aquila, evidently the successor of Laetus (2. 2). He was in office in 206 (*Oxyr. Pap.* viii. No. 1100).

martyrs] The word is apparently used here in its earlier sense. See v. 2. 2, note.

4 *greeted*] Cp. *M.P.* 11. 20 and note.

5 *the house where he abode*] Apparently there was no school building. The head of the school taught in his own dwelling.

7 *as the saying goes*] φασί. The phrase of Plato here quoted is said by Seneca (*Ep.* 114. 1) to have come to be a proverb among the Greeks. Eusebius seems to be unaware of its ultimate source. Cicero attributes it to Socrates (*Tusc.* 5. 16, 47).

8 *had been entrusted*] St. Jerome is doubtless right when he says (*V.I.* 54) that Origen was now "confirmed" in the office which he had originally undertaken of his own motion (§1).

teaching of letters] This is somewhat difficult to reconcile with what Origen himself says in the letter quoted in 19. 12–14, and what Eusebius says of him in c. 18, and still more with the

account of his method given by Gregory Thaumaturgus (18. 3, note). But here what is in view is not the reading of Greek literature, but teaching it, and teaching it as an end in itself, not merely as an introduction to higher studies. Cp. 2. 15. But how did Origen continue to study profane literature when he had sold his books (§ 9)?

4. 1 *The first*] All the martyrs mentioned in cc. 4, 5, with the exception of Basilides, are commemorated in the martyrologies under 28 June. The Irish Martyrology of Gorman has under that day "Plutarch in the numbering," the other names being omitted. The phrase suggests that the commemoration was ultimately based on these chapters, in which the martyrs were numbered. But it is not here implied that all the martyrdoms took place on the same day. Unfortunately the ancient Syriac Martyrology is not available for the last days of June.

on that occasion also] See 3. 4 f.

3 *still a catechumen*] Of the seven martyrs who came from the Catechetical School at least five were unbaptized or lately baptized: Plutarch (§ 1, see 3. 2), Heraclides, Hero, Herais (§ 3) and Basilides (5. 6). They were therefore especially marked out for persecution by the ordinance of the Emperor (1. 1, note).

it is recorded] Apparently in one of Origen's letters. See 2. 1.

5. 1 *Potamicæna*] In the *Hist. Laus.*, 3, there is another account of the martyrdom of Potamiæna, which gives further particulars. There, however, she is said to have suffered under the Emperor Maximian.

2 *Aquila*] See 3. 3, note.

bodily insult] Cp. *M.P.* 5. 3, note.

3 *those serving in the army*] τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀναφερομένων. Cp. a similar phrase in viii. 4. 3. The exact meaning is doubtful; but Mr. R. M. Gwynn points out to us the very common use, in papyri, of ἀναφέρειν in the sense of "to make an official return"; so here the meaning would be "those returned on the regimental rolls as on active service."

he kept restraining] Though Basilides had not yet formally declared himself a Christian (§§ 5, 6), he was a member of the Catechetical School (§ 1). He must therefore have already had some inclination to accept the faith. Cp. § 6, "brethren in God."

6 *the seal*] Baptism. Cp. iii. 23. 8. At a later date the "seal" was what we term Confirmation. See 43. 15, note.

6. *one of his pupils*] Since Origen was only seventeen years old when his father suffered martyrdom (2. 12), and there was then, or a few months later, no catechetical teacher in Alexandria (3. 1), it follows that Clement left Alexandria in or shortly before 203. This agrees with the statement of Jerome (3. 3, note) that Origen succeeded him as principal of the

Catechetical School. The form of the sentence seems to imply that Origen was only for a short time a pupil of Clement.

6. *under Severus*] This is accepted by most modern critics. But of course it applies only to the first book of the *Stromateis*. This book was in fact written at Alexandria (v. 11. 4), and therefore (see previous note) not later than 203. But it is not much earlier; for Bk. ii refers to the persecution of Severus as already begun (*Strom.* ii. 20. 125). Some hold that Bks. v–vii are of later date than the rest of the work. See 13. 3, note.

7. *Judas*] Of this writer we know nothing except what Eusebius here tells us. His name perhaps indicates that he was of Jewish race.

another writer] συγγραφέων ἕτερος. The word συγγραφεύς is commonly used in the sense of "historian." But the context seems to show that Judas was rather a commentator: and "another" puts him in line with Clement (c. 6), who was not an historian, though, like Judas, he indulged in chronological speculations. The word means simply "writer" in 13. 7; 31. 1; 32. 3.

So strongly etc.] Eusebius had an aversion to eschatology of this type: which may account for the slightness of his notice of Judas. Cp. iii. 39. 12 f.

8. 1 *At that time*] ἐν τούτῳ. A vague expression. But it seems to indicate a date before the beginning of Caracalla's reign (§ 7)—*i.e.* 210 at latest.

2 *literal*] In later life Origen abandoned the literal interpretation of the saying. In his Commentary on St. Matthew (15. 3), he says, "We once conceived God's Christ, the Word of God, after the flesh and after the letter; but now we know Him so no more, and we do not approve of those as good interpreters who" take the saying literally. Westcott points out (*D.C.B.* iv. 98) that Origen by his act contravened both the civil law (cp. Just. *Apol.* i. 29, with Otto's note) and "the true instinct of the Church," expressed in the next century in the first canon of the Council of Nicaea.

4 *not long afterwards*] See 23. 4. The proceedings of Demetrius here referred to belong to the year 231–2 (see c. 26, and note)—more than twenty years later. Cp. Eusebius' slips in 2. 2 ("just then"), and *M.P.* 5. 2, note.

bishops of Palestine] See 23. 4. The bishops were Theoctistus of Caesarea and Alexander of Jerusalem: see 19. 17; 27.

7 *Antoninus*] The name of this Emperor was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. He was nicknamed Caracalla from the fact that he introduced into Rome from Gaul a tunic known as the caracalla. He succeeded, on the death of his father, 4 February 211, together with his brother Geta, whom Eusebius does not mention. Geta was murdered by Caracalla 27 February 212.

8. 7 *played the man*] See 11. 5.

9. 1 *the citizens of the community*] It is obvious that the contents of this and the following chapters down to 11. 2 rest almost entirely on the stories told to Eusebius by members of the church at Jerusalem. Probably the only historical document which he used was the letter quoted in 11. 3.

10. *Dius. . . Germanion. . . Gordius*] "The names of" these bishops "are far from being above suspicion" (C. H. Turner in *J.T.S.* i. 553). Cp. note, p. 167.

11. 1 *joint ministry*] In the *Chronicle* (p. 295) Eusebius dates the appointment of Alexander in 2 Caracalla (213). Alexander is the first bishop who is known (1) to have been translated from one see to another, and (2) to have acted as coadjutor of another bishop. Translations were forbidden at the Council of Nicaea, 325 (can. 15). For the rule that there should be but one bishop in a Church cp. 43. 11. See Bingham, Book ii, ch. 13. For other exceptions to both these rules cp. vii. 32. 21; x. 1. 2, note.

2 *made the journey*] Apparently the first recorded "pilgrimage" to Jerusalem. But cp. iv. 26. 14.

the land of the Cappadocians] Eusebius was ignorant of the name of his see. A later authority states that it was Flaviopolis in Cilicia. But that is probably incorrect (Routh, *R.S.* ii. 170).

3 *Antinoites*] The community at Antinoe, or Antinoopolis, a city on the eastern bank of the Nile, founded by Hadrian in 122, in honour of Antinous. See iv. 8. 2.

116 *years*] Narcissus was apparently alive in 213 (§ 1), and died before 216, when Origen visited Palestine (19. 16 (see note), 17). Hence if his age at the time of the writing of this letter is correctly given, he must have been born between 97 and 100.

4 *Asclepiades succeeded*] He was appointed in the first year of Caracalla (*Chronicle*, p. 295), *i.e.* 211–12. Therefore the letter quoted in § 5 was earlier than that quoted in § 3, and was written in Cappadocia. Cp. 8. 7.

5 *at the time of my imprisonment*] Alexander was a confessor in 12 Severus (*Chronicle*, p. 294), *i.e.* 205. He was still in prison six or seven years later, when Asclepiades became bishop (§ 4, note); but he must have been released soon after the announcement of the appointment reached him, for the letter implies that at the time of writing he was at liberty ("I learnt at the time," etc.). He was probably set free not long after the accession of Caracalla (4 February 211). The Syriac Martyrology commemorates Serapion on May 14. If he died on 14 May 210, the tidings of the election of his successor might have reached Alexander some months later, and the letter may have been dispatched early in 211.

6 *my dear brethren*] κύριοί μου ἀδελφοί. The papyri show that κύριος was often, in letters, a courteous mode of address

in the case of persons nearly related, the idea of "lord" being absent from the word. Actually κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἡρᾷ occurs in one papyrus; and in another, a Christian "brother" is addressed as κύριέ μου ἀγαπιτέ (*sic*). See Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, s.v.*

11. 6 *Clement*] Clement of Alexandria. He was thus alive in 211 (§ 5, note), and able to undertake a journey from Cappadocia to Antioch. He was probably about sixty years old (v. 11. 1, note).

whom ye yourselves etc.] ὃν ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐπιγνώσεσθε. This is ambiguous. As translated in the text it implies that Clement had not before visited Antioch. But some render, "whom ye yourselves know, and will (hereafter) know (better)": which would imply the opposite. See Robinson, *Ephesians*, p. 254.

when he was present here] In Cappadocia (§§ 2, 4, notes). It is implied that Clement was engaged in pastoral work there for a considerable time, while Alexander was in prison. It is not improbable that he settled there when he left Alexandria in 203 (see above on c. 6).

12. 1 *Serapion*] Succeded Maximin (v. 19. 1) as bishop of Antioch in 191 (v. 22, note), and died in 210 (11. 5, note). In this section Eusebius intimates that he was aware that writings of Serapion were extant to which he had not access; and he adds that he passes over some of the letters which were in his hands.

To Pontius and Caricus] On the Montanist schism. See v. 19. 1.

2 *Gospel of Peter*] A large fragment of this Gospel, the earliest extant notice of which is the extract from the letter of Serapion in §§ 3–6, was discovered by the French Archaeological Mission at Cairo. The manuscript (apparently of the eighth century) which contains it was found in a grave at Akhmîm (Panopolis) in Upper Egypt in the winter of 1886. With it are included, in the same manuscript, fragments of the original Greek of the Book of Enoch and the Apocalypse of Peter (iii. 3. 2). These three documents were first published by M. U. Bouriant in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, ix., 1 (1892, 1903). In the same year was published *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter, Two Lectures*, together with the Greek Texts, by J. A. Robinson and M. R. James. Perhaps the most satisfactory English edition of the Gospel is that of the late Dr. H. B. Swete, 1893. There can be no doubt of the genuineness of this fragment of the Gospel. It agrees exactly with the description given by Serapion. In particular it is manifestly docetic in its conception of Christ (see Swete, p. xxxvii f.). Swete (p. xliv f.) supposes that it was written in Western Syria about 165, *i.e.* only a quarter of a century before

Serapion came to know of its existence. But Mr. P. Gardner-Smith would put the date much earlier. He argues (*J.T.S.* xxvii, pp. 401–407) that the Gospel was known to and quoted by Justin, and was independent of the canonical Gospels. His conclusion is that it cannot have been later than 130, and may have been written in *c.* 90. Dr. James believes that we have another portion of the Gospel in the fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter mentioned above (see iii. 3. 2, note). He suggests that "the Gospel was a slightly later book than the Apocalypse, and quoted it almost *in extenso*." E.T. in James, pp. 90–94, 507–510.

12. 2 *Rhossus*] More commonly spelt Rhosus. It seems to have been in Serapion's time an insignificant community, without a bishop. It was situated on the coast of the gulf of Issus, about thirty miles from Antioch, but cut off from it by the lofty hills of Amanus.

5 *Marcianus*] The Armenian version has *Marcion* (Robinson, *l.c.*, p. 14). But the person here mentioned was probably not the well-known heretic of Pontus, but a leader of the Docetae at Rhosus.

6 *Docetae*] This word is not found elsewhere in the *Ecclesiastical History*, but was in common use as indicating persons or sects who denied the reality of our Lord's body or of His sufferings. The docetism of the Gospel of Peter is shown in the suppression of all that implies pain in connexion with the Crucifixion. In fact the very short account of it begins thus: (c. 4) "And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them; but He was silent, since He had no pain."

13. 1 *Stromateis*] In late Greek στρωματεύς came to have the meaning of στρωματόδεσμος, *i.e.* the *striped* bag in which slaves rolled up the bed-clothes. Hence works of a miscellaneous character were thus entitled, not only by Clement, but also by Plutarch and Origen (see 24. 3). See W. G. Rutherford, *The New Phrynichus*, p. 487; Hort and Mayor, *Clem. Alex. Miscellanies, Book vii*, p. xi ff. For the date of the *Stromateis* see c. 6, note.

eight books] The eighth book, if it ever existed, is lost. In the single extant MS. of *Strom.* there is a fragment which has the title, Book viii. It deals with logical method; and it is followed by two other fragments entitled respectively *From the books of Theodotus* and *Selections from the Prophets*. The first of these three may have been counted by Eusebius as the eighth book. In some manuscripts known to Photius (111) its place was taken by the *Quis dives salvetur* (§ 3). The theory of von Arnim, accepted by Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 17 f.), is that the three fragments are notes made by Clement in preparation for *Strom.*, viii, which in fact was never written.

2 *Hypotyposeis*] *i.e.* "Sketches." The word denotes "an

incomplete sketch in contrast to the complete picture" (W. Lock on 1 Tim. i. 16). Of the work so called only some fragments remain. These include a series of notes on 1 Peter, Jude, 1 and 2 John, preserved in a Latin version, under the title "Adumbrationes Clementis Alexandrini in Epistolas canonicas." See Stählin iii, pp. 203–215.

13. 3 *Exhortation to the Greeks . . . Pædagogus*] *The Exhortation to the Greeks* (generally known as the *Protrepticus*) and *The Pædagogus* or *Instructor* are preserved. They were intended apparently to form the first two parts of a trilogy. The argument for Christianity to the Greeks was followed by instruction on Christian morals; and that was to be succeeded by a work containing higher teaching. See *Pæd.* iii. 12. 97. 3: "And now it is time for me to cease from the instruction (παιδαγωγίας) and for you to listen to the Master (διδασκάλου)." But there is considerable controversy as to the relation of *Strom.* to the proposed Trilogy. Some believe that they are its third part, others that they constitute an enlargement of the original plan, and that they were to be succeeded by a fourth work, *The Master*, which was not written. Others again suppose that *Pæd.* was written between the fourth and fifth books of *Strom.* For an account of these theories see Tollinton, i. 185–194; ii. 324–333; Bardenhewer, ii. 50 ff., 67 ff.

Who is the Rich Man] This is commonly known as *Quis dives salvetur*, which is a mistranslation of the Greek title, and conveys a false impression of the purpose of the treatise. It is in fact a homily on Mark x. 17 ff., the design of which is to show that wealth, properly used, is no bar to salvation. Eusebius quotes a long passage from the close of the discourse (iii. 23. 6 ff.). It is summarized by Tollinton, i. 306 ff.

the treatise On the Pascha] This treatise was a reply to the Quartodeciman treatise of Melito, and mentioned the part taken by Irenæus in the Paschal controversy (see § 9; iv. 26. 3, 4). Both it and the other writings mentioned in this section have perished, with the exception of a few fragments collected by Stählin (iii. 216–223).

Exhortation to Endurance] Probably a sermon. Possibly a fragment published in 1897 by P. M. Barnard (*T.S.* v. 2, p. 47 ff.) belongs to it. E. T., G. W. Butterworth (*L.C.L.*), 1919.

Ecclesiastical Canon] Lost, save one fragment. It is uncertain who the "Judaizers," against whom it was written, may have been. Since it was dedicated to Alexander it was probably written in Cappadocia after Clement had left Alexandria (see 11. 2, 6, note).

5 *the title*] See § 1, note.

6 *the disputed writings*] Cp. iii. 25. 3–5. In that place the Epistle to the Hebrews is "acknowledged" (note, p. 103); Jude is placed among the "disputed writings" proper;

Barnabas is "spurious," and the Gospel of the Hebrews likewise in the opinion of "some"—both being "disputed writings" in a wider sense; the Epistle of Clement of Rome is not mentioned at all. In the present passage Eusebius omits several non-canonical books of which Clement makes use.

13. 7 *Tatian's book*] See iv. 29. 7.

Cassian] Julius Cassianus was a Docetic and Encratite writer of the second century. On him see *D.C.B.* i. 412.

Philo] See ii. 4. 2, note.

Aristobulus] A Judæo-Hellenistic philosopher of the Peripatetic School, mentioned as the teacher of Ptolemy Philometor in 2 Macc. i. 10. To him he addressed his Explanation of the Law of Moses, the work which is quoted by Clement and other Christian writers. Cp. below vii. 32. 16, 17; and for further information see Schürer ii. 3, pp. 237–243.

Josephus] See above, iii. 9. 1, note.

Demetrius] Another Hellenistic Jew, who, as we learn from a quotation in Clem. *Strom.* i. 21. 141, wrote a book on the Kings of Judæa. He paid special attention to chronology. The same quotation shows that the reign of Ptolemy IV was the terminus of his chronology. It may be concluded that he wrote between B.C. 222 and 205. See Schürer ii. 3, pp. 200–202.

Eupolemus] A Jew, apparently of Palestine (1 Mac. viii. 17), who also wrote a history of the Jewish Kings, from which Eusebius makes a long quotation in *Præp. Ev.* ix. 30–34. His date is inferred from a quotation in Clem. *Strom.* i. 21. 141 to have been in the first half of the second century B.C. See Schürer, ii. 3, pp. 203–206.

8 *he shows*] See v. 11. 2, note.

he promises] No such promise is made in *Strom.* Eusebius was misled by the passages cited in the footnotes, which indicate Clement's intention to deal in a later part of his work with the origin (γένεσις) of man and the world.

9 *On the Pascha*] See § 3, note.

he was compelled] Note Clement's unwillingness to transmit in writing the oral traditions which he had received from his early teachers. Cp. *Strom.* i. 1. 11 (quoted v. 11. 3).

14. 1 *Apocalypse known as Peter's*] See iii. 3. 2, note.

4 *the blessed elder*] Probably Pantænus. Cp. v. 11. 4, note.

5 *in the same books*] See ii. 15. 2, and note.

the primitive elders] τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων, *i.e.* the elders who lived in the first days, as distinct from the teachers of Clement, whom he also calls "elders"; cp. § 4. The text of the passage which is here paraphrased has not been preserved.

which include the genealogies] Matthew and Luke. The statement that they were earlier than Mark is of course

incorrect. The authors of the first and third Gospels made use of Mark, which is undoubtedly the earliest extant Gospel.

14. 6 *in this manner*] This account of the origin of the second Gospel has a remarkable similarity to the statement which Papias received from "the elder" on the same subject (iii. 39. 15), a similarity which extends even to the phraseology. But Clement differs from Papias in one notable particular, as we shall see. The conclusion to be drawn is that Clement based his story on an Asian tradition, differing from, and perhaps later than, that of Papias, but not independent of it. See Harnack, *Chron.* i. 685–687.

at Rome] This is not said in the extract from Papias in iii. 39. 15; but it does not contradict it.

by the Spirit] πνεύματι. This word is important. See § 7. Peter's oral preaching, like John's written Gospel, was inspired.

those present . . . exhorted Mark] An addition to the story of Papias. It is found also in ii. 15. 1, which may be partly founded on Clement.

7 *when the matter came to Peter's knowledge*] Papias indicates that Peter was dead when Mark wrote (iii. 39. 15, note); and he says nothing about Peter's judgement on the Gospel. But he defends Mark on the ground that he reproduced accurately Peter's preaching. Clement, on the other hand, says in effect that Peter did not sanction the publication of Mark's work: according to his tradition it was not the Gospel of Peter, as Papias' presbyter had claimed for it. And yet another tradition, which had reached Eusebius, and was apparently confirmed by Clement (ii. 15. 2, note), declared that Peter authorized the reading of St. Mark's Gospel in the churches.

outward facts] τὰ σωματικά, contrasted with "spiritual" below.

John . . . was urged on] So the Muratorian Fragment represents St. John as having composed his Gospel "at the entreaties of his fellow-disciples and his bishops" (Tregelles, *Canon Muratorianus*, p. 17). Cp. next note.

divinely moved by the Spirit] πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον. Thus, according to the tradition, St. John's Gospel was the only one of the four which was in the strict sense inspired. But though Clement records the tradition, he does not in practice differentiate between the Gospels. They are for him on the same level of authority. It is well to remember that Clement had scruples about committing to writing the oral teaching of the elders (13. 9, note). See Tollinton, i. 178 ff. This may account for his insistence on the fact that both St. Mark and St. John were "urged" to write, and for his acknowledgement, in theory,

of the inferiority of the second Gospel as compared with St. Peter's oral teaching.

14. 8 *letter to Origen*] This letter seems to have been written before Origen and Alexander became personally acquainted with each other (see below). It may therefore be dated before Origen's first visit to Palestine (*c.* 216), and after Alexander's appointment as bishop of Jerusalem (see Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 93).

forbears] Spiritual ancestors: explained in § 9 ("fathers") as teachers. The "friendship" is that which naturally subsists between men who have been inspired by the same teachers, who are of one school. It need not imply personal acquaintance. Cp. Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 6 f.

9 *Pantænus*] It has been inferred from this passage that both Origen and Alexander were pupils of Pantænus (Zahn, *Forsch.* iii. 171). But that Origen was a pupil of Pantænus is improbable. He was not seventeen years old when he studied under Clement, the successor of Pantænus. See c. 6 and note.

Clement] He was now dead. Hence, taking this passage with ll. 5, 6, the date of his death was probably between 211 and 216.

profited me] Perhaps when he resided in Cappadocia. See ll. 6.

Through these] *i.e.* through Pantænus and Clement. Not therefore as a fellow-pupil, since Origen was probably not a pupil of Pantænus. It is indeed unlikely that, if Alexander was a pupil of Clement at Alexandria (which need not be supposed), he was there during Origen's apparently brief time of study at the Catechetical School.

10 *Adamantius*] Jerome (*Ep.* 33. 4) and Photius (118) regard this as an epithet. The former explains it as referring to Origen's industry as a commentator, the latter as indicating that his arguments were linked together like adamantine chains. Epiphanius (*Hær.* 64.) says that he conferred the title upon himself. But Eusebius clearly, and no doubt correctly, takes it to be his second name.

stayed at Rome] This visit is placed in the reign of Caracalla (211–217). After it came a visit to Arabia (19. 15), and a visit to Cæsarea, which, as we shall see, took place in 215 (19. 16, note), with a considerable period of work at Alexandria in the interval. Thus the stay at Rome was probably about 212. At Rome, as St. Jerome notes (*V.I.* 61), he listened, at least on one occasion, to the preaching of Hippolytus (20. 2; 22). Since Hippolytus was at this time engaged in his feud against Zephyrinus (see 20. 2, note), it may be inferred that Origen took his side in opposition to the Pope.

His words] The quotation of course does not prove that Origen visited Rome, though the fact may be regarded as

certain. This is not the only place where Eusebius regards a statement anticipating an event as evidence that the event actually took place. See iv. 16. 1, note.

15. *Heraclas*] See 3. 2, note. Jerome (*V.I.* 54) states that at this time he was a presbyter.

16. 1 *Hebrew tongue*] Origen is the earliest of the Christian Fathers who is known to have had a knowledge of Hebrew. But that he made "a thorough study" of the language is more than doubtful. See Elliott in *D.C.B.* ii. 855–859.

editions of the other translators] Origen's work on the Greek translations of the Old Testament, which issued in his famous Hexapla, was apparently, as Epiph., *Hær.* 64. 3, implies, the earliest of his literary labours. It must have begun as early as the reign of Caracalla (see § 3). It is spoken of as completed in § 2 of his letter to Africanus *c.* 243 (31. 2, note), and in his Commentary on Matthew (xv. 14), *c.* 245. For an account of the Hexapla see Swete, 59 ff. F. Field in his *Hexapla*, published in 1875, collected the fragments then extant, but a good deal of new material has subsequently been discovered.

Aquila] According to an authority used by Epiphanius (*Mens.* 14 f.), and by the writers of the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* (ed. Conybeare in *Anecd. Oxon.* viii. 91) and *Chron. Pasch.* pp. 474, 476, Aquila was a Greek of Pontus. The Emperor Hadrian appointed him overseer of the work of rebuilding the city of Ælia on the site of Jerusalem in 135. He there embraced Christianity, but was subsequently excommunicated, and became a proselyte of Judaism. In the fortieth year of his age he learned Hebrew, and in due time produced a slavishly literal rendering of the Hebrew text. This story is attributed by Conybeare to Aristo of Pella (iv. 6. 3), on insufficient grounds. It is confirmed by independent evidence, Jewish and Christian (Swete, 31 f.), and it points to a date about 140 for the version. Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 23, quoted in v. 8. 10) is the first Christian writer who mentions it, and it seems to have been recently published when he wrote (*c.* 185).

Symmachus] Eusebius is probably right when he says that Symmachus was an Ebionite (c. 17), though according to Epiphanius he was a Samaritan; for a statement of Origen (c. 17, note) proves that he was a Christian. (See further Harnack, *History of Dogma* (E.T.) i. 305, note 1.) According to Epiph. (*Mens.* 16, 18, as emended from the Syriac version his floruit is to be placed under Marcus Aurelius (161–180), and this is consistent with the statement of Origen just mentioned. But the date of Symmachus may be much later. See Dr. Gwynn's articles in *D.C.B.* iv. 748 f., 970 ff.

Theodotion] The only reliable authority for the date and place of Theodotion is Irenæus (above, v. 8. 10), who says

that he was a Jewish proselyte of Ephesus. Dr. Gwynn (*l.c.*, p. 973) dates his version about 180. This version differs from those of Aquila and Symmachus in that it is not directly derived from the Hebrew, but is a revision of the Septuagint. Theodotion's text of the Prophet Daniel ultimately superseded that of the Seventy in the use of the Church (Swete, 46 ff.); and he may have translated some of the books now included in the Septuagint (R. M. Gwynn in *Hermathena*, xliv. 1926, p. 52).

16. 1 *which were used in turn*] ἐναλλαττούσας. See Harnack, *Überlief.* i. 340. Eusebius seems to indicate that these anonymous versions were fragments, so that one was used for one part of the Old Testament, another for another. Cp. the use of the same word in viii. 9. 3, "which followed one on the other."

2 *Nicopolis*] A city founded by Augustus to commemorate his victory at Actium, B.C. 31. It was situated on the promontory of Epirus in Greece at the place where Augustus encamped before the battle. Actium was on the opposite promontory, in Acarnania, across the entrance to the Sinus Ambracicus. This version was probably discovered by Origen on his journey to or from Rome, *c.* 212 (14. 10, note).

3 *seventh translation*] Thus he found three, not, as § 2 might seem to imply, only two. Possibly, indeed, the second version referred to in § 2 was distinct from the sixth and seventh. If so, Origen used at least eight versions. See Bardenhewer, ii. 113.

at Jericho] Probably on the occasion of Origen's first visit to Palestine (19. 16), in 215.

4 *dividing them into clauses*] In order that the reader might as far as possible find each phrase of the Hebrew in line with the phrases which corresponded to it in the several versions. This involved some transposition of the clauses in the Septuagint.

Hexapla] Since Eusebius is not very precise in his language it may be well to say that the six main columns were arranged in the following order from left to right: (1) Hebrew, (2) transliteration of the Hebrew into Greek letters, (3) Aquila, (4) Symmachus, (5) Septuagint, (6) Theodotion. According to this order the two versions which followed the Hebrew most closely—Aquila and Symmachus—immediately followed it, while Theodotion followed the Septuagint, since it was in fact based on that translation. A feature of the work to which Eusebius here makes no allusion is the use of asterisks and obeli in the Septuagint column. Every clause in the Septuagint which was not in the Hebrew was marked with an obelus (†). When the Hebrew had a clause which was not represented in the Septuagint, Origen inserted it in the Septuagint column from the other Greek versions marking it with an asterisk (*). He explains his method in his Com-

mentary on Matthew, xv. 14. The arrangement of the columns is made clear in the fragment printed by Swete, pp. 62, 63.

16. 4 *Tetrapla*] A separate work, as Eusebius explains. It contained only the four Greek versions, the first two columns being omitted.

17. *memoirs . . . of Symmachus*] ὑπομνήματα: a vague word, often applied to commentaries. That this is its meaning here seems to be implied by the phrase "other interpretations" in the next sentence. Thus the memoirs may have been a hostile commentary on St. Matthew.

Origen indicates] Palladius in his *Hist. Laus.* 64 tells us that Origen, when he was "flying from the hostility of the Greeks," was entertained for two years by a certain virgin named Juliana at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. He then proceeds, "And I myself found this written in a very ancient book arranged in clause-lines (στιχηρῷ), in which was penned by the hand of Origen, 'I myself found this book in the possession of Juliana the virgin in Cæsarea when I was hiding with her; and she said that she had received it from Symmachus himself, the Jewish interpreter.'" This note may have been written in Symmachus' Commentary on St. Matthew, and it is probably the source of Eusebius' information. Cp. his reference to notes of Origen in 24. 3. If the note quoted by Palladius is authentic—and there seems to be no reason to doubt this—Origen's acquisition of the works of Symmachus may be dated about 235. See below, c. 27, note. But it will be noticed that there is no hint that his version of the Old Testament was among them. Origen in fact had used it while he was still living at Alexandria, *e.g.* in his note on Ps. iv. 1 (De La Rue, ii. 556). The connexion of Symmachus with Juliana, vouched for by Origen, shows that Symmachus was a Christian, and that he lived in Cappadocia.

18. 1 *Ambrose*] See 23. 1, note.

Valentinus] Origen witnesses that Ambrose was at one time a heretic, or at least inclined to heresy: "You yourself, when advocates of the good cause were scarce, because you could not endure an irrational or commonplace faith, in your love for Jesus once embraced propositions which . . . you afterwards condemned and forsook" (*Joh.* ed. Brooke, ii. 233; *Philocalia*, p. 48). According to Jerome (*V.I.* 56) he had been a Marcionite.

3 *introduce also to the study of philosophy*] This passage should be compared with Gregory, *Pan.* 6 ff. (see c. 30 and note), where Origen is represented as insisting on the necessity of the study of philosophy.

19. 2 *Porphyry*] A Tyrian philosopher of the Neoplatonist School and a voluminous writer, born in 233. He studied first under Longinus at Athens, and subsequently (263) under Plotinus at Rome. In *c.* 269 he settled in Sicily, and

immediately afterwards, as Eusebius here tells us, composed his treatise against the Christians in fifteen books. This was the most formidable attack on Christianity in the third century. It was answered by Eusebius in a work of great length, as well as by his contemporary, Methodius, and by Apollinarius later in the fourth century (Jer. *Ep.* 48. 13; 70, 3; *V.I.* 81, 83, 104). Unhappily both the attack itself and these replies have perished. But in 1867 a manuscript was discovered at Athens which contained the greater part of the lost *Apocriticus* of Macarius Magnes. This treatise purports to be the record of a disputation between a Greek philosopher and a Christian; and in it a number of "questions" are put into the mouth of the philosopher, which the Christian answers. It was edited by Blondel and Foucaurt in 1876. In 1911 Harnack reprinted the "questions," with a dissertation in which he essayed to prove that they were excerpts from the polemic of Porphyry (*Kritik des neuen Test. von einem griech. Philos. des* 3. *Jahrh.*, in *T.U.* xxxvii. 4: see especially pp. 137 ff.). In 1914 Dr. T. W. Crafer argued (*J.T.S.* xv. 360 ff., 481 ff.) that they rather came from the pen of Hierocles (*M.P.* 5. 3, note), a later philosopher of the same school, who used Porphyry's thoughts, but expressed them in his own words. Taking them as containing the substance of passages of Porphyry and combining them with a large number of extracts from his work (of which the two given here by Eusebius are the most important) and allusions to it, he has re-constructed the general line of Porphyry's attack. See also the articles on Macarius and Porphyry—especially the former—in *D.C.B.* iii. 766; iv. 440, and Crafer, *The Apocriticus of Macar. Mag.* Cp. also Harnack, *Expansion*, i. 504–509.

19. 3 *in his early manhood*] κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἡλικίαν. This phrase, which is an inexact paraphrase of Porphyry's "quite young" (κομιδῇ νέος, § 5), represents Porphyry as a man of thirty years of age or more. But, in fact, he was only twenty-two years of age when Origen died in 255 (vii. 1). The meeting may have taken place at Tyre in or shortly after 253, when Porphyry paid a short visit to Rome from Athens, after which he returned to the East.

5 *whom I met*] Hence it has been inferred that Porphyry was at one time a pupil of Origen. But this seems more than doubtful.

6 *Ammonius*] Ammonius Saccas, an Alexandrian philosopher, the teacher of Longinus and Plotinus, who is said to have died in 243.

7 *Origen, a Greek*, etc.] Porphyry goes astray here, as Eusebius shows, § 10. Harnack suggests (*Chron.* ii. 38) that he was misled by Origen's *Stromateis* (see 24. 3), of which Jerome (*Ep.* 70. 3) gives the following account: "In imitation of Clement of Alexandria Origen wrote *Stromateis*, in which he compared together the opinions of the Christians and the

philosophers, and confirmed all the doctrines of our religion from Plato, and from Aristotle, Numenius and Cornutus."

19. 8 *Numenius and Cronius*] Pythagorean philosophers, who flourished apparently about the middle of the second century.

Apollophanes] Stoic of Antioch; third century B.C.

Longinus] An eminent Platonist, born *c.* 215. He studied under Ammonius Saccas, and was one of the teachers of Porphyry. In later life he was the councillor of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, and was executed as one of her adherents by Aurelian in 273.

Moderatus] A Pythagorean of the reign of Nero.

Nicomachus] A Pythagorean who lived not earlier than the time of Tiberius. He was a native of Gerasa in Arabia. Works by him on Arithmetic and on Music are extant.

Chæremon] Historian and Stoic philosopher under Claudius. He gave instruction in philosophy to Nero. An Alexandrian.

Cornutus] A contemporary of Chæremon, a Libyan by birth. He was a Stoic.

9 *The third treatise*] This book, according to Crafer (*J.T.S.* xv. 500) dealt with the Old Testament, drawing attention to its supposed inconsistencies and absurdities. Here Porphyry declaimed against Origen, whose metaphorical interpretations shattered an argument which depended on the literal sense of the Scriptures.

10 *Ammonius*] Eusebius makes a mistake similar to that of Porphyry in § 7. Ammonius Saccas was certainly not a Christian in later life. He is probably confused here with another Ammonius, perhaps, as Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 81) suggests, the bishop of Thmuis who was deposed by Heraclas for allowing Origen to preach in his church (Photius, quoted by Döllinger, *Hippolytus and Callistus*, E.T., p. 244).

13 *Pantœnus*] See v. 10.

Heraclas] See 3. 2, note. The statement that Heraclas was a presbyter proves that the letter was written before (or very soon after) Origen left Alexandria (see c. 26), and indicates that Origen was already at that period found fault with for his study of Greek literature.

the teacher] Ammonius Saccas. See § 6.

14 *assumed a philosophic garb*] See *M.P.* 11. 19, note.

15 *ruler of Arabia*] The Legatus of the Roman Province of Arabia Petræa. To its capital, Bostra, Origen probably went at this time, as he did on a later occasion (33. 1).

16 *no small warfare*] This was no doubt the massacre of the inhabitants of Alexandria by Caracalla in 215. It fixes the date of Origen's first visit to Palestine.

17 *bishop of Jerusalem*] Alexander was now sole bishop. We may assume that Narcissus was dead.

his letter] Demetrius had evidently written a letter of protest to the bishops named.

19. 17 *I do not know*] First person singular, though Eusebius speaks of the letter as a joint protest of the two bishops.

18 *Laranda*, etc.] In Lycaonia, about 30 miles east of Derbe. Synnada lay in a mountainous district of Phrygia, about 40 miles north-west of Antioch of Pisidia. Of the persons here mentioned nothing further is known. For the significance of the incident recorded in §§ 16–18 see Harnack, *Expansion*, i. 361 f.

20. 1 *Ælia*] Jerusalem. See iv. 6. 4. Eusebius seems to imply that he found the writings of Beryllus, Hippolytus and Gaius there. Cp. note, p 167. There was a copy of Africanus' *Cesti* (31. 1, notes) in Alexander's library (*Oxyr. Pap.* vol. iii. no. 412, p. 40).

2 *Beryllus*] See c. 33.

Hippolytus] See also c. 22 and notes. It is not surprising that Eusebius did not know where his see was, for his knowledge of the West was slight (Introd. p. 36). But it is remarkable that Jerome, who was well acquainted with Rome, was equally ignorant: "I have not been able to discover the name of his city (*urbis*)" (*V.I.* 61). Until the recovery of Hippolytus' *Refutation of all Heresies* (see c. 22, note on "Against all the heresies," p. 211) it was generally believed that he was bishop of Portus at the mouth of the Tiber; but for this there is no satisfactory evidence. Döllinger (*Hippolytus and Callistus*, pp. xv, 92–96), relying mainly on the *Refutation*, maintained that he was a schismatic bishop of Rome, or in other words an anti-pope, in opposition to Callistus and his successors. Salmon (*D.C.B.* iii. 88–90), though attracted by Döllinger's hypothesis, found it encumbered with difficulties. The most serious of these is the absence of reference to the schism in any ecclesiastical writer. When, a few years later, Novatian was consecrated as anti-pope the whole Church, east and west, was stirred; but the revolt of Hippolytus was apparently unknown outside Rome. Salmon accordingly suggested that, in spite of his attack on Pope Callistus, Hippolytus was no schismatic, but that he had been regularly appointed to supervise the Greek-speaking Christians at Rome. Lightfoot (*Clem.* ii. 427–434) held that he was placed in charge of the "miscellaneous and disorderly flock" at Portus, mainly consisting of foreigners, and that, though his head-quarters were at that place, he had, strictly speaking, no see. Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 212) follows Döllinger. On any theory difficulty remains. How could Jerome be ignorant of the facts, whatever they were? How came it that his contemporary, Pope Damasus, on the monument with which he honoured Hippolytus (see Lightfoot, *l.c.*, p. 328), described him as a presbyter, though he was certainly a bishop? Till some convincing answer is given to these questions, the riddle will not be solved. Whether Hippolytus was a schismatic or not, his *Refutation*

proves that he was involved in violent contention with two successive bishops of Rome—Zephyrinus (*Ref.* 9. 11) and Callistus; and probably also with Callistus's successor, Urban (*ib.* 12 *ad fin.*).

20. 3 *Dialogue of Gaius*] Quoted ii. 25. 7; iii. 28. 2; 31. 4. Gaius, as this passage shows, was a contemporary of Hippolytus, and like him was a man of learning, who lived at Rome; and we know that he wrote in Greek. Lightfoot in fact for many years held that Gaius was simply an alias of Hippolytus (*Journal of Philology*, i. (1868), 98 ff.). This theory received its *coup de grâce* when Dr. Gwynn recovered from an unedited Commentary of Dionysius Barsalîbî, a Jacobite of the twelfth century, on the Apocalypse, Acts and Epistles, five passages of a work of Hippolytus entitled *Heads against Gaius* (*Hermathena*, vi. (1888) 397 ff.). This discovery showed not only that Gaius had a separate existence: it proved that he rejected the Apocalypse as contradictory to the Gospels and other writings in the New Testament. Dr. Gwynn supposed that the *Heads* were possibly a refutation of arguments used by Gaius in his *Dialogue*. But the subsequent publication of Barsalîbî's Commentary by Sedlacek (1910) brought to light a passage which he had overlooked: "Hippolytus of Rome said, A man named Gaius appeared, who said that the Gospel was not John's, nor the Apocalypse, but that they were the work of the heretic Cerinthus." To this de Labriolle (*Crise*, 284 f.) added a saying of Hippolytus quoted in Barsalîbî's unedited Commentary on the Gospels: "The heretic Gaius used to argue that John did not agree with his fellow evangelists in saying that after the Baptism He went to Galilee and wrought the miracle of the wine." Thus we now know, that in his *Heads* Hippolytus testified, not only that Gaius rejected the Apocalypse, but that he ascribed it to Cerinthus (which Dr. Gwynn's fragments did not suggest), and that he rejected the fourth Gospel. Now Eusebius calls Gaius a "churchman" (ii. 25. 6), a title which he reserves for the orthodox. It seems certain, therefore, that he was not fully aware of his attitude in regard to the Johannine writings. Thus we conclude that this part of his argument against the Montanists was not set forth in the *Dialogue*, but in a probably later work which Eusebius had not seen. Indeed, if the present passage implies (as it seems to do) that Gaius included a list of the New Testament writings in the *Dialogue*, the silence of Eusebius warrants the belief that the fourth Gospel was mentioned in it. If so, he had not yet rejected it when he wrote that work.

Zephyrinus] See 21. 1.

Proclus] See ii. 25. 6, note.

the heresy of the Phrygians] Montanism.

new Scriptures] The writings of the Montanist prophets,

which were placed on a par with the canonical books. Cp. v. 16. 3, note; 18. 5.

21. 1 *Macrinus*] Caracalla was assassinated on 8 April 217, and was succeeded by the Prætorian Prefect, Macrinus, who had contrived his murder.

another Antoninus] Macrinus was defeated on 7 June 218 by Bassianus, and put to death. Bassianus, who assumed the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, was immediately proclaimed Emperor. He is generally known as Elagabalus, from the Sun-god of Emesa, of which he was priest. For the meaning of the name see *Gibbon*, i. 144 f.

eighteen entire years] *c.* 200–*c.* 218. See Introd. p. 44.

2 *Alexander*] After the murder of Elagabalus, 10 March, 222, his cousin Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander ascended the throne. He was then only 17 years of age, and the real ruler was his mother Mamæa (see § 3), who exercised great influence over him throughout his reign.

3 See note, p. 219.

22. *Hippolytus*] Of this man—the greatest scholar of the Western Church in the first three centuries—Eusebius obviously knows nothing but a few of his writings. All that can now be ascertained about him is collected in Döllinger's *Hippolytus and Callistus*, Salmon's article in *D.C.B.* iii. 85, a dissertation by Lightfoot, unhappily incomplete, in his posthumous *Clement of Rome*, p. 317 ff., and Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 209 ff. See also 20. 2, note. He was probably born *c.* 160. He was banished to Sardinia by Maximin in 235, and apparently died there shortly afterwards.

On the Pascha] Of the two parts of which this treatise consisted one is in our hands. In 1551 a figure of a seated ecclesiastic was unearthed at Rome on the site of Hippolytus' grave. On the chair of the statue there is engraved a list of writings which were undoubtedly from the pen of Hippolytus (Lightfoot, *Clem.* ii. 440). It is certain therefore that he is the ecclesiastic who is represented. In addition to the list just mentioned there is also an Easter Table, beginning with the first year of Alexander. It is beyond doubt that this is the "Canon" of the text. In the first place we have a Table (πίναξ) of the fourteenth days, *i.e.* the full moons immediately preceding Easter in each year. The month-days of these moons for sixteen years are given in the first column, the dates of the first eight years being identical with those of the second series of eight years. Opposite these in seven columns are the corresponding week-days for 112 years (see B. MacCarthy, *Annals of Ulster*, vol. iv, App. A). The Table may be represented thus:

Ap. 13	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.
Ap. 2	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.
Mar. 21	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.	Tu.	M.
Ap. 9	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.
Mar. 29	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.
Mar. 18	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.	Tu.	M.
Ap. 5	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.
Mar. 25	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.

Ap. 13	Tu.	M.	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.
Ap. 2	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.
Mar. 21	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.
Ap. 9	Tu.	M.	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.
Mar. 29	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.
Mar. 18	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.
Ap. 5	Tu.	M.	Su.	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.
Mar. 25	Sa.	F.	Th.	W.	Tu.	M.	Su.

It will be seen that this table is based on a cycle of sixteen years, as Eusebius states, or more correctly on a double cycle of eight years; the assumption being that the dates of the full moons for any period of eight successive years are identical with those of all preceding and following periods of eight years: an assumption which is wholly incorrect. This table is followed by others which give the dates of Easter for 112 years.

Now opposite certain of the week-days in the Table are written the words "Birth of Christ," "Hezekiah," "Josiah," "Exodus," "Ezra," "In the wilderness," "Passion of Christ," "Joshua." These indicate notable passovers in the Bible, each being placed at the year of the cycle of 112 years in which it is supposed to have been celebrated. Each of them occurs twice, opposite different years, followed on the second occasion by "according to Daniel." The Table enables us, if we observe the position of the words, to calculate the exact dates of these eight passovers according to (1) the chronology indicated in the Historical Books, and (2) the quite different chronology implied by Daniel's seventy weeks. But this required some explanation; and the explanation was given in the second part of the treatise, which Eusebius calls "a register of the times," and which is apparently entitled on the chair "Demonstration of the times of the Pascha according to [what is] in the Table." (See *D.C.B.* i. 506 f.; iii. 92.)

It is obvious that the treatise was of no great length. The Canon comprised 150 lines of writing, and the explanation can scarcely have required much more space.

22. *the following*] They include a treatise *On the Pascha*, probably identical with the work mentioned above, which is called "*the* treatise On the Pascha," implying that Eusebius knew only one work on that subject. Having mentioned the features of that treatise which seemed to him interesting, he apparently proceeds to set down a complete list of the writings

contained in the volume in which he found it. His reason for calling special attention to it was no doubt the fact that it supplied a date, which he may have assumed, without warrant, to have been applicable to all the tracts in the volume. See *Euseb.* p. 151 f. It appears probable that this volume was preserved at Jerusalem. See c. 20. In the following notes it will be shown that most of the treatises mentioned were of small compass.

22. *On the Hexaemeron, On what followed the Hexaemeron*] Of these two tracts (or parts of one tract) the former was obviously an exposition of Gen. i, the latter commented on Gen. ii. 3, and probably on cc. ii–v or parts thereof. If, as seems likely, they were on the same scale as the recently discovered treatise of Hippolytus On the Blessings of Jacob (ed. C. Diobouniotis and N. Beïs, in *T.U.* xxxviii. 1), they cannot have been more than half the length of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

against Marcion] Lost.

On the Song] This treatise is known for the most part only in translations. Our knowledge of it has been greatly enlarged by the researches of N. Marr, who discovered a tenth-century MS. of a version of it in the Georgian language (edited 1901). In 1902 Bonwetsch published an edition, based on that MS., in *T.U.* xxiii. 2c. The text of the Commentary, as now known, goes as far as Cant. iii. 7, and there is reason to suppose that Hippolytus carried it no further (*T.U., l.c.*, p. 12). It is, in fact, an exposition of the first of the three songs, which, according to him (*Com.* i. 11, Bonwetsch, p. 23), the book comprised. Thus it is a short treatise, of only a little more than a quarter of the length of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

On parts of Ezekiel] Only a couple of fragments remain.

On the Pascha] See above.

Against all the Heresies] Hippolytus is known to have written two works against heresies. The first of these was discovered only eighty-five years ago; though the discovery showed that a portion of the work was already in our hands, unrecognized. In 1842 Minoides Mynas found at Mount Athos a fourteenth-century MS. containing the last seven books (the first of which had lost its beginning) of a treatise Against all Heresies in ten books. It soon became evident that this was part of a work the first book of which had been printed among the writings of Origen, under the title *Philosophumena*. Accordingly the first edition (by E. Miller, 1851) included the already printed fragment with the newly recovered books, and attributed the whole to Origen. It is now universally held that this attribution was wrong, and that the *Refutation of all Heresies* is from the pen of Hippolytus. It was written after the death of Pope Callistus (222). The tenth book is a summary of the preceding books; and it was

circulated apart from the rest, for Theodoret (*H.F.* i. 17–24) used it, and was yet unaware of the existence of the earlier books. It is improbable that the *Refutation* is the treatise referred to by Eusebius in the text, for it supplies valuable historical material of which he would have made use, if he had read it. But in the Preface to the *Refutation* Hippolytus mentions a much earlier work of his of the same character. And Photius had in his hands a *Syntagma against thirty-two Heresies*, written by Hippolytus, which he states (cod. 121) to have begun with the Dositheans and to have ended with Noetus and the Noetians, and which therefore cannot have been the *Refutation*. R. A. Lipsius has proved (*Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanios*, 1865) that this tractate was used by Epiphanius in his *Panarion*, by the writer of the *Adversus omnes hereticos Libellus*, which stands as an appendix to Tertullian's *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, and by Philastrius. From these three writers he has restored the text. (For some necessary modifications of the restoration see de Labriolle, *Sources*, pp. xxxvi–xlvii.) As so restored it is a short treatise which briefly indicates the doctrines of the heretics with some slight polemic against them. This agrees with the statement of Photius that the *Syntagma* was a "little book" (*βιβλιδάριον*), in fact a "synopsis" of lectures of Irenæus, and with the probable fact that Pseudo-Tertullian and Philastrius did not to any considerable extent abridge the text which they translated. It is in harmony also with the description given by Hippolytus himself of his earlier work, in which, he tells us, he had set out the doctrines of the heretics in a moderate compass, not explaining them in detail, but refuting them in general terms (*ἁδρομερῶς*). And such a brief account of the heresies may well be the treatise to which Eusebius refers. For on the supposition that he is giving the titles of writings comprised in a single volume, none of them can have been of great length. But here we come upon a difficulty. We possess what is called, in the only MS. which contains it, a Homily of Hippolytus against Noetus. It is actually not a homily but the conclusion of a work on heresies; and many scholars (*e.g.* Salmon, Lightfoot and Harnack) regard it as the last portion of the treatise with which we are concerned. But if so, that treatise (supposing it to have been on the same scale throughout) must have been a book of considerable size. How is the seeming contradiction to be explained? Most probably by the supposition that the earlier work, like the *Refutation* (see above), was summarized by Hippolytus, and that the summary was circulated apart. This summary may have been the *Syntagma* known to Photius; and it may also have been the tract used by Pseudo-Tertullian and Philastrius, and referred to by Eusebius. If it was more widely read in Hippolytus's lifetime than the larger book which it represented,

it may also have been the early sketch of heretical doctrine alluded to in the *Refutation*. Another hypothesis has been suggested by de Labriolle (*Sources*, p. xlvii f.). He thinks that the "homily" was the conclusion of the short book mentioned by Hippolytus himself and by Photius, and that its length was due to the specially mischievous character of the Noetian heresy. But if the work included even one so copious chapter, Hippolytus's description of it (see above) would be at least inaccurate. On the other hand it is possible that the "homily" is the concluding section of a third treatise of Hippolytus on heresies—the *Little Labyrinth*, from which Eusebius quotes some passages in v. 28 (Bardenhewer ii. 567 f.). Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 223) dates the *Syntagma* shortly after 200. It should be added that Legge in his E.T. *Philosophumena, or the Refutation of all Heresies*, vol. i. p. 11 ff. holds that the *Syntagma* is identical with the *Refutation*. But his skilful argument does not seem to us convincing.

23. 1 *Ambrose*] Ambrose was a rich and cultured (18. 1 f.) man, of noble birth, the holder of many civil offices of honour, whom Origen had reclaimed from heresy (18. 1 and note). His conversion marks an epoch in the life of Origen. Eusebius places it under Caracalla; and apparently it took place in the first or second year of his reign, for there is evidence that Ambrose accompanied Origen to Rome *c.* 212 (14. 10). It seems in fact that immediately after his conversion he resigned his office and devoted himself to his teacher, and acted as his patron and companion in travel. Noting at Rome the literary work of Hippolytus, he urged Origen to undertake similar labours. His generosity in supplying him with equipment for such work is described in this chapter. He was apparently not in Alexandria when Origen was writing the fifth book of his Commentary on St. John (see 24. 1: cp. *Joh.*, ed. Brooke, ii. 227 f.; *Philocalia*, p. 42), but he soon joined him at Cæsarea, and settled there with his wife (Marcella) and children. His sufferings as a confessor there in 235 or 236 called forth Origen's Exhortation to Martyrdom (c. 28). He is said to have been a deacon, and probably was ordained before 235. A few years later he and his family were with Origen at Nicomedia, apparently on the way to Athens. In a fragment of a letter printed by De la Rue (vol. i, p. 3) Origen gives a lively picture of Ambrose's importunities. "The holy Ambrose, . . . supposing that I am a zealous worker and utterly athirst for the word of God, convicted me by his own zeal for work and passion for sacred studies. Wherefore so far has he surpassed me that I am in danger of refusing his demands; for neither when we are engaged in collating (*ἀντιβάλλουσιν*) can we take our meals, nor, when we have taken them, walk and rest our bodies. Nay, even at the times set apart for these things we are

constrained to discourse learnedly and to correct our manuscripts. Neither can we sleep at night for the good of our bodies, since our learned discourse extends far into the evening. I need not mention that our morning studies also are prolonged to the ninth, at times to the tenth, hour; for all who wish to work zealously consecrate that time to the investigation and reading of the divine oracles." No wonder Origen in one of his letters—perhaps this one (cp. *Joh.*, ed. Brooke, ii. 227)—called Ambrose his task-master (ἐργοδιώκτης, Exod. iii. 7; v. 6–14). It was due to the entreaties of Ambrose that he undertook the work of writing commentaries on the Scriptures. Among his treatises composed at Ambrose's request were the Commentaries on the Psalms and on St. John's Gospel, and the work *Against Celsus;* and the book *On Prayer* was composed for him and a lady named Tatiane. That Ambrose assisted Origen in his labours is proved by the Epistle to Africanus, which he wrote at Origen's dictation, and revised before it was dispatched. He was sometimes so indiscreet as to circulate writings of Origen which were not intended for the public eye. Ambrose died not long before Origen, probably about 250. For the foregoing facts, so far as they are not told by Eusebius, see Jerome, *V.I.* 56, 61; *Ep.* 43. 1; 84. 10; Epiph. *Hær.* lxiv. 3, 7; Orig. *Mart.* 1, 14, 15, 36, 38, 42; *Joh.* i. 4; vi. 2; *Cels.* Pref. 1, 4; viii. 76; *Ep. ad African.* 15; *Orat.* 2, 34.

23. 2 *he dictated*, etc.] The shorthand writers took down what Origen said; the copyists (βιβλιογράφοι) expanded their notes; the skilled penwomen transcribed the exemplars thus produced, and multiplied copies.

4 *In their day*] That is, while Pontianus was bishop of Rome and Zebennus of Antioch. The date was probably late in 231 or in 232. See note, p. 218.

urgent necessity] St. Jerome (*V.I.* 54) says that the journey was undertaken on account of an outbreak of heresy in Achaia. This is confirmed by a letter of Origen quoted by Rufinus (*De adult.; P.G.* xvii. 625: E.T. in *N.P.F.*, iii. 424), in which it is stated that the brethren in Palestine sent to Origen at Athens for a copy of the record of a discussion between Origen and a heretic. It seems to be intimated that Origen returned by way of Ephesus and Antioch. Though it seems that Origen went to Greece with the sanction of the bishop (Jer. *V.I.* 54: for the alleged contradictory statement of Photius 118, see Routh, *R.S.* iii. 505) it is clear that, for some time before he left, the relations between the two men were strained (Orig. *Joh.* vi. 1).

The agitation] We know something of the proceedings which Eusebius did not think it necessary to record here. Photius (118), who professes to have derived his account from the Apology for Origen, states that when Origen was ordained

a synod of bishops and presbyters ordered him to leave Alexandria (but see note, p. 218). A second synod of Egyptian bishops, including Demetrius, went further, and, with the assent of those who before had been in favour of a milder course, deprived him of his priesthood. On this occasion Demetrius recalled the rash act of his earlier years (8. 5). It appears that the decision of the latter synod was communicated to all bishops; and all (including the bishop of Rome) endorsed it, with the exception of the Bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia and Achaia (Jer. *Ep.* 33. 5; 84. 10).

23. 4 *Apology*] See 33. 4, note. Evidently the second book of that work contained an account of Origen's earlier writings, the later writings and the letters being reserved for the sixth book (36. 3, 4). A complete list was included in the life of Pamphilus (32. 3).

24. 1 *to add*] This paragraph gives an account of the literary work which Origen accomplished before his final retirement from Alexandria (c. 26). See note, p. 218.

he indicates] What he actually says (*Joh.* vi. 2) is that he wrote the first five tomes, and part of the sixth, at Alexandria; but that by some accident this portion of the sixth tome did not reach him at Cæsarea and he was obliged to begin the tome afresh.

twenty-two tomes] τόμος (which literally means a "cut" of a papyrus roll) was the word which Origen regularly used for a division (book) of his more elaborate commentaries (Jer. *Ep.* 84. 8; *Quæst.* Pref.). It occurs also in a similar sense in ii. 10. 2; x. 1. 2. See G. Milligan, *N.T. Documents*, p. 15. The number "twenty-two" is perhaps an error. St. Jerome speaks of 32 tomes (*Præf. in Hom. Orig. in Luc.*, Prolog.; *P.L.* xxvi. 219; *Ep.* 33. 4), and the thirty-second, which reaches John xiii. 33, is extant. That the commentary was continued as far as John xix. 18 is certain (Orig. *Matt.* ser. 133).

2 *On Genesis*] The work was a commentary on Gen. i–iv (Orig. *Cels.* vi. 49). For a fragment, see iii. 1.

On the first twenty-five psalms] Part of a commentary completed later (*D.C.B.* iv. 108; Bardenhewer ii. 141). Lost.

Lamentations . . . five tomes] Only a part of the work, as Eusebius implies. Maximus the Confessor mentions the tenth tome (Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 40).

3 *De Principiis*] περὶ ἀρχῶν. "The most complete and characteristic expression of Origen's opinions." For an account of it see *D.C.B.* iv. 119 ff. It is preserved in a far from faithful Latin version by Rufinus, and a good many Greek fragments.

Stromateis] See 13. 1, note. Three Latin and nine Greek fragments remain: the latter edited in 1899 from a Mount Athos MS. of the New Testament by E. von der Goltz in *T.U.*

xvii. 4, p. 96 ff. Combining with them the description of the work given by St. Jerome (19. 7, note), and his statement (*Gal*, Pref.) that he made use of the tenth book in his Commentary on Galatians, we can form at least a partial conception of its character. In it Origen set out selected passages from the Scriptures with short exegetical notes (σημειώσεις : "commatico sermone"), and compared them with passages from the writings of the philosophers, with an apologetic purpose. A good example of his method may be found in Jer. *Apol.* i. 18.

25. 2 *the twenty-two books*] This important list of the canonical books of the Old Testament exhibits in a curious way the influence upon Origen of his Hebrew studies and of his reverence for the Septuagint version. No doubt he derived from his Hebrew teachers the number of the books (cp. Sanday, *Inspiration*, 1896, 112 ff.), in regard to which he is in agreement with Josephus (see iii. 10. 1–3); but he indicates some portions of the Old Testament which they cannot have accepted as canonical. Moreover, the Hebrew tradition which he followed was not that which generally prevailed. The books were usually counted as twenty-four : and in order to reduce the number he makes Ruth a supplement to Judges and Lamentations a supplement to Jeremiah, though Ruth and Lamentations were almost universally regarded as belonging to the third section of the Bible, the *Kethubim*, while Judges and Jeremiah were reckoned among the Prophets. Again, he is careful to give the Hebrew titles of the books, but he enumerates them in an order which approximates to that of the Septuagint. In fact his catalogue differs from the Codex Vaticanus only in two points : he places Daniel before instead of after Ezekiel (an unusual arrangement : cp. iv. 26. 14), and Job, Esther at the end of the Prophets instead of before them. The book of the Twelve Prophets has been accidentally omitted (without it there are only twenty-one books), so that we cannot decide whether Origen placed it before the Major Prophets, with the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS., or after them, with the Sinaitic. This omission, taken with other seeming blunders noted below, warrants the view that the text of the list which lay before Eusebius was corrupt, or was carelessly copied. On the titles, grouping, number and order of the books see Swete, p. 197 ff.

Ammes phekodeim] חֲמֵ"ץ הַפְּקוּדִים = fifth (*i.e.* book) of the precepts, or of the mustered men (G. Harford-Battersby in Hastings, *Dict. of Bib.* iii. 567; G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, in Internat. Crit. Com., p. xxi), a Talmudic title of the book.

Judges, Ruth . . . in one book] So apparently Josephus (iii. 10. 3 : see note). But Origen may be merely following the Septuagint, in which "Ruth is always attached to Judges" (Swete, 226).

25. 2 *The called of God*] Perhaps Origen held, with most moderns, that "Samuel" means "Name of God."

The kingdom of David] The correct rendering of the Hebrew is "Now King David" (1 Kin. i. 1). Origen may have been influenced by the Septuagint title of these books, "The Kingdoms."

Esdras i, ii] Esdras i is the book so entitled in the Septuagint, called 3 Esdras in the Vulgate and in the sixth of the Anglican Articles of Religion. Esdras ii is Ezra and Nehemiah regarded as one book. 1 (3) Esdras had no place in the Hebrew Canon.

Melōth] The Hebrew title is מִשְׁלֵי, the const. pl. of מָשָׁל. From Dr. McNeile we learn that the Talmud, on very rare occasions, treats this word as feminine. Origen therefore may have written ΜΕCΛΩΘ or ΜΙCΛΩΘ (= מִשְׁלוֹת), or ΜCΑΛΩΘ (= מְשָׁלוֹת), which has been corrupted to ΜΕΛΩΘ.

not as some suppose] Origen makes a similar remark in the Preface to his Commentary on Canticles (see 32. 2.; De la Rue, iii. 36; *P.G.* xiii. 82). Is he referring to Hippolytus, who held that the book comprised three songs (c. 22, note, p. 211)?

Lamentations] This book is not connected with *Jeremiah* in the Massoretic Bible. See above. Origen probably agrees with Josephus (iii. 10. 3), and certainly with the Septuagint, in apparently all MSS. of which it follows Jeremiah.

the Letter] In the Vulgate the Letter of Jeremiah is incorporated in the Book of Baruch as chapter vi. In the Septuagint it follows Lamentations as in Origen's list. It was not included in the Hebrew Bible.

The Maccabees] The first book of Maccabees, which, unlike the other books so called, is translated from the Hebrew. It is described as "outside these [twenty-two books]," because it was uncanonical.

Sar bēth sabanai el] This name is interesting as evidence of the existence in the third century of the Hebrew original of 1 Mac., but its meaning is obscure. For various attempts to explain it, see Ryle, *Canon* (1895), p. 196. Dr. McNeile suggests to us that it may represent סִפְרֵי בֵּית שֵׁבְנִי חֵל "The history of the house of warriors." This re-transliteration presupposes that the letter ϕ has dropped out of the first word in the text, which is not improbable.

13 *made short notes*] σχολιογραφήσαντος.

14 *Clement*] Cp. iii. 16, 38.

Luke] So Clement of Alexandria. See 14. 2.

26. *removed*] Referring to 23. 4. See note, p. 218.

leaving to Heraclas] It was natural that Origen should leave his assistant (see c. 15) in charge during his absence. When he left Alexandria he probably proposed to return.

not long afterwards] This note of time is vague (cp. 8. 6).

But since Demetrius became bishop in 190 (v. 22) he must have died in 233 or 234, if his episcopate lasted 43 entire years. Cp. note, p. 265.

NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF 21. 3; 23. 4, and c. 26.

It is commonly held that after his journey through Palestine to Greece (23. 4) Origen returned to Alexandria, and that subsequently he was expelled, and took up his abode at Cæsarea (c. 26). Thus cc. 23 and 26 would record distinct visits to Palestine. This is assumed by Westcott (*D.C.B.* iv. 100), Gwatkin (ii. 191 f.), and others. But the only direct evidence for his return is the statement of Photius (118) that he was ordered "to depart (μεταστῆναι) from Alexandria." Photius, it is true, bases his account of the matter on the Apology for Origen (see 33. 4, note), but he is quite capable of misrepresenting his authorities (see 39. 5, note). It may be well, therefore, to investigate the facts in some detail. According to c. 23 the journey to Greece was undertaken during the episcopate of Pope Pontianus, and therefore after 22 August 230 (Introd. p. 46). On his way Origen lingered in Palestine long enough to be ordained presbyter. Moreover we have a fragment of a letter written by him to his friends at Alexandria (in Rufinus, *Ep. in Apol. Pamph.*, *P.G.* xvii. 623 ff.), which seems certainly to refer to this occasion. In it he mentions a disputation which he held with a heretic at, or on his way to, Athens. He remained at Athens after the discussion so long that an incorrect record of it had reached Palestine, and a subsequent request for a true account of it from the brethren there had reached him before he left. On his return journey he seems to have spent a considerable time at Ephesus, and had another public discussion with a heretic at Antioch. In short, his absence from Alexandria was so prolonged that he can hardly have returned thither before September 232, which is the latest possible date for the departure mentioned in c. 26. At any rate the news of his ordination must have reached Egypt long before he could have returned, and it is improbable that Demetrius would have delayed proceedings against him till he was present. Again, Origen's own allusions to his final migration to Cæsarea show that it was not due to a sentence of banishment. He says (*Joh.* vi. 2) that he "was rescued (ἐξειλκύσθημεν) from Egypt, God, who had brought out His people thence, delivering him." Such language might be used of a call to important work in Greece, but it would be scarcely suitable to a forced retirement. And he leaves us in no doubt that it was after his settlement in Palestine that "the enemy (Demetrius) waged the bitterest war against him by means of his new

letters (γράμματα)"—which were evidently the letters to the bishops (23. 4, note: for the implied earlier letter see 19. 17). We turn from Origen to Eusebius. So far from implying that Origen returned to Alexandria after his visit to Greece, by the form of the first sentence in c. 26 he intimates that he is merely giving the date of a departure from Alexandria which he had already recorded: the journey of c. 26 is identified with that of c. 23. And when he tells us that Origen left Heraclas in charge of the Catechetical School, he clearly implies that he did not migrate under compulsion; for in that case he would have had no part in the appointment of his successor. Finally, the list in c. 24 of books written by Origen at Alexandria is in its proper place if the preceding section (23. 4) refers to his final departure, but strangely out of place on any other supposition. We conclude therefore that Origen's visit to Greece proved to be his final severance from Alexandria; that when the news of his ordination reached Egypt Demetrius took steps which barred his return; and that, in accordance with c. 26, the date of the journey was between September 231 and September 232.

We can now discuss the date of his interview with Mamæa at Antioch (21. 3). Westcott (*D.C.B.* iv. 99), Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 30 f.) and Bardenhewer (ii. 108) incline to the year 218, under the Emperor Elagabalus, when Mamæa is known to have been at Antioch. But Eusebius places the incident under Alexander. Westcott accounts for this by the desultory style of Eusebius; but desultory as he sometimes is (Introd., p. 14 f.), he seldom puts an event in a reign to which he believes it does not belong. Harnack argues that since Eusebius mentions the accession of Alexander immediately after that of Elagabalus, he does not decide under which Emperor the interview took place; but a glance at the text (c. 21) shows that he records the succession of Pope Callistus under Elagabalus before he introduces Alexander. Further, if Eusebius supposed that Origen met Mamæa in 218, he uses a rather violent prolepsis, for Mamæa was not then the "*Emperor's* mother." But Mamæa paid another visit to Antioch. In 231 she accompanied her son on his expedition against the Persians. They were together there in the winter of 231–2, and they did not return to Rome till the summer of 233. In the midst of his campaign in 232 Alexander had left his army and returned to Antioch, Mamæa, no doubt, being with him (Groebe in *R.E.* ii. 2535 ff.). Harnack rejects 231—he does not consider the possibility of 232 or 233—for the interview, as too late, because Origen was then in the midst of his strife with Demetrius, and perhaps no longer at Alexandria. But Eusebius does not necessarily imply that Origen went to Antioch from Alexandria, or that he returned to Alexandria after the interview. It is quite

possible that Mamæa sent for him after he had settled at Cæsarea, or even during his stay at Antioch when he was returning from Greece. Doubtless in that case 21. 3 would more fitly have followed c. 23. But we must make allowance for Eusebius' careless method, and for his possible ignorance of the circumstances.

It may be added that this note was penned before the writer had read the argument which led Dr. McGiffert to the conclusion that Origen did not return to Alexandria after his journey to Greece (*Eusebius, P.N.F.*, i. 395 ff.).

27. *Firmilian*] See vii. 28. 1, note.

to his own parts] St. Jerome (*V.I.* 54) says that Origen remained there a long time (*diu tenuit*). It is probable that his visit extended well into the reign of Maximin; and in this way we can account for the fact that Eusebius makes no allusion to his having suffered in the persecution under that Emperor, though we know that it extended to Cæsarea in Palestine (c. 28). This is confirmed by the note written by Origen himself, quoted in note on c. 17. It is true that there was persecution in Cappadocia (perhaps only for a short time) in the reign of Maximin under a præses named Serenianus. But Firmilian, from whom we learn this, and who calls the persecution "severe (gravis)" mentions no confessors, and admits that it was easily evaded (Cyp. *Ep.* 75. 10). Moreover, Origen would be less likely to be molested there than at Cæsarea in Palestine, where he was better known. Palladius, who copied Origen's note, introduces it with the remark that Origen enjoyed the hospitality of Juliana for two years. If this is correct, he must have remained in Cappadocia till 237.

28. *Maximin*] Caius Julius Verus Maximinus, a barbarian of Thracian origin, having been proclaimed Emperor, Alexander and Mamæa were murdered 19 March 235.

The leaders . . . alone] A new feature of persecution. Under Septimius the persons specially aimed at were neophytes (1. 1; 4. 3, notes).

composed] This seems to imply that Origen was not then at Cæsarea in Palestine. He was probably in hiding at the Cappadocian Cæsarea (c. 27, note). The *Exhortation to Martyrdom* is still extant.

Ambrose] See 23. 1, note.

it is recorded] Probably in the documents mentioned at the end of the chapter; that they suffered severely is also implied in the *Exhortation to Martyrdom*.

Expositions] See 24. 1. Book xxii is lost.

29. 1 *Gordian*] Eusebius passes over a terrible and somewhat obscure history. In the spring of 238 a rebellion, provoked by the tyranny of Maximin, broke out in Africa, and Gordian, the proconsul, and his son, of the same name, were proclaimed

emperors, and were at once accepted by the Senate. But within a few weeks the son had died in battle and the father by his own hand. Subsequently Maximus and Balbinus were elected, a third Gordian, grandson of Gordian I and nephew of Gordian II, being associated with them. Maximin was murdered, and a little later Maximus and Balbinus; and thus Gordian III, the emperor mentioned in the text, became sole emperor, apparently in August 238. For details see Gibbon i, pp. 173–189, 456. Eusebius errs in placing the two successors of Pope Pontianus under Gordian, as will be seen from the dates in the following notes. Possibly the reference to the accession of Gordian was by some accident misplaced. Cp. note below on Dionysius (§ 4). The first incident recorded by Eusebius which can with probability be placed in Gordian's reign is the arrival of Gregory at Cæsarea (c. 30).

29. 1 *six years*] 22 August 230—29 October 235 (Introd. p. 46). Pontianus was banished by Maximin to Sardinia with Hippolytus (c. 22, note).

a month] 22 November 235—3 January 236 (*ib.*).

Fabian] 10 January 236—20 January 250. See 39. 1. In the *Chronicle* (p. 298) Eusebius states that his term of office was thirteen years.

4 *Dionysius*] Dionysius of Alexandria, who is almost as prominent a figure as Origen in the *History*, is here mentioned for the first time. Since his appointment to the Catechetical School is placed under Gordian it would seem to be hinted that there was a vacancy in the principalship throughout the reign of Maximin (see c. 26 and notes). But it is at least possible that this whole chapter belongs to the reign of Maximin (§ 1, note). Thus the vacancy in the school may have been much shorter—a year or two. Perhaps Heraclas continued to direct it during the first months of his episcopate: if so, there was no interregnum.

30. *Theodore . . . and his brother Athenodore*] Theodore, as Eusebius says, was generally known by his other name of Gregory, which he seems to have assumed at least as early as his return to Neocæsarea: he was so called in the letter of Origen cited below. It is noteworthy that Eusebius does not add the epithet Thaumaturgus, by which he was afterwards honoured on account of the many miracles which were attributed to him. The course of his early life can be traced with the help of this chapter and his Panegyric on Origen. He was born of heathen parents of noble birth in Pontus, apparently at Neocæsarea. He was fourteen years old when his father died. He and his brother Athenodore then began to study rhetoric, and at the same time Gregory, and probably Athenodore, were attracted to Christianity. Somewhat later they abandoned rhetoric for Roman law. After engaging for three years in that study they resolved to travel; and while

they were undecided where to go, they were ordered to escort their sister to Cæsarea, where her husband held a post in the imperial service. They went with her, intending after their journey to spend some time at the law school at Beirut. But at Cæsarea they met Origen, and, fascinated by him, they remained five years under his instruction. At the end of their sojourn at Cæsarea Gregory pronounced the Panegyric mentioned above, which gives a most interesting description of the method of Origen as a teacher. When they returned to Pontus it was the intention of Gregory to practise as a lawyer. This is made clear by his own statement (*Pan.* 187 ff.) and by a letter written to him by Origen shortly after his departure (Orig. *Phil.*, 13). But, apparently soon after his arrival, he was elected bishop of Neocæsarea (the name of the see is given by Jerome, *V.I.* 65, and others: not by Eusebius). Athenodore also became a bishop in Pontus. The last notice of the two brothers which can be regarded as historical is the statement of Eusebius (vii. 28. 1) that they took part in the proceedings regarding Paul of Samosata *c.* 264.

The dates may be approximately fixed as follows. The five years' visit of the brothers at Cæsarea must have coincided with a period during which Origen was there; and it must have been within the limits of the reigns of Maximin and Gordian. Such a period cannot have begun before 237 (see c. 27, note); and it must have concluded before Origen's second visit to Athens (32. 2). It lasted therefore from *c.* 238 to *c.* 243. Now Gregory implies (*Pan.* 3) that he had ceased to study rhetoric eight years before the close of his visit to Origen. This brings us back to *c.* 235, when we may assume that he was about seventeen years of age. He was therefore born *c.* 218. If he was appointed bishop in 244, he was then 26 years old—"still young," as Eusebius says.

Further particulars of the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus may be gleaned from the *Panegyric* of Gregory of Nyssa (see Harnack, *Expansion*, ii. 205–208); but it must be read with caution, for, apart from the stories of miracles which abound in it, it is grossly inaccurate. See *D.C.B.* ii. 730; Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 93–102. For the writings attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus, see Harnack *l.c.* and Bardenhewer, ii. 318 ff.

31. 1 *Africanus*] Julius Africanus was probably born in Africa *c.* 170. He is said to have been an officer of the Roman army, and possibly served in the expedition of Septimius Severus against Osrhoene in 195. He was a friend of Abgar VIII, King of Edessa († 213), and his son, and in their time stayed at Edessa. He finally made Emmaus in the Shephelah of Palestine, also known as Nicopolis (not the Emmaus of Luke xxiv. 13), his home. From that place he went on an embassy to the Emperor Elagabalus; as a result of which the town,

which had fallen into ruin, was re-edified (in 221 according to the *Chronicle*, p. 296 : but 222 is more probable). He seems not to have returned from his embassy till some time after the accession of Alexander, with whom he was on friendly terms, and for whom he designed a " beautiful library " at Rome (*Oxyr. Pap.* iii. No. 412, p. 36 f.). He was alive *c.* 243 (see next note but one), but probably died soon afterwards. On him see Salmon in *D.C.B.* i. 53; Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 89.

31. 1 *Cesti*] " Embroidered girdles," a title of the same type as *Stromateis* (see 13, 1, note), indicating the varied contents of the work. Harnack characterizes it as " a kind of technical encyclopedia and collection of curiosities." By the phrase of the text Eusebius intimates that the *Cesti* was one of the best known works of Africanus, a strong argument against the objections which have been raised, on insufficient grounds, to its authenticity. The prospect of a critical edition, which is much needed, has been postponed by the death of H. Gelzer (see *T.U.* xxxiv. 3, Vorwort). The conclusion of Book 18 has been found in a papyrus which was written in Africanus' lifetime or shortly after his death. It appears that the earlier books (including the first nine) were dedicated to the Emperor Alexander, the later to a Jew (?) of Palestine (*Oxyr. Pap.*, No. 412, note on l. 56).

letter . . . to Origen] This short letter may be read in Routh *R.S.* ii. 225, or in Reichardt's edition (*T.U.* xxxiv. 3, p. 78); E.T. in *A.N.L.* x. 369. It is one of the most remarkable pieces of Biblical criticism which have survived from the early Christian centuries. Origen's reply (*Ep. ad African.*) is much longer, and less forcible. Rufinus seems to have read it; and he summarizes part of the argument in his translation of the present passage. Cp. 2. 4, note. It refers to the Hexapla as finished (§ 4), which implies a date considerably later than Origen's departure from Alexandria. It purports to have been written while he was passing through Nicomedia (§ 1), probably on his way to Athens, and in any case not between 235 and 243 (c. 30, note). The two letters may therefore be dated about 243 (32. 2, note).

2 *Chronographies*] The remaining fragments of this great work have been collected by Routh in *R.S.* ii. 238 ff. In one of them (Routh, p. 287) its date is given as *Anno mundi* 5723, 3 Elagabalus (221). Thus it seems that Africanus finished his *Chronographies* shortly before he set out on his embassy (§ 1, note). There is no doubt that in his *Chronicle* Eusebius made use of this work; but it is also clear that he did not always follow Africanus blindly, much as he valued his labours : *e.g.*, he says in one place that Africanus seems to him to have fallen into great error, substituting conjecture for evidence (*Chronicle* ed. Schœne, i, 98). Cp. i. 6. 2; 7.

Alexandria] It was probably on this occasion that he

procured in Egypt "the holy book" of Peroptes (?), as he states in his *Chronographies* (Routh, *R.S.* ii. 250). If so, the visit must be dated some years before the writing of the *Chronographies*. The fact that he went to Alexandria to see Heraclas rather than Origen may be accounted for if we suppose, with Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 90), that this visit was paid about 216, when Origen was in Palestine (19. 16 and note).

32. 1 *on Isaiah*] . . . . *on Ezekiel*] Only fragments of these commentaries remain.

2 *to Athens*] Thus Origen paid a second visit to Athens (for the first see 23. 4) in the reign of Gordian. It appears from the present passage not to have been made at the very beginning of the reign, and, judging from the amount of literary work done there, it was prolonged. We may in fact place it after the departure of Gregory Thaumaturgus from Cæsarea (c. 30, note), and therefore in 243 or 244.

on the Song of Songs] The Preface, the first three books, and part of the fourth, remain, in a translation by Rufinus. There are also many fragments of the Greek.

3 *did record it*] The list of Origen's writings in Jer., *Ep.* 33. 4 (36. 3, note) was probably translated from the catalogue in the Life of Pamphilus (cp. Jer. *Apol.* ii. 22). For that work see *M.P.* (S) 11. 3, and note. The present section, which is not very happily placed, may have been added after the first draft of Book vi was finished. In 23. 4; 36. 4 Eusebius sends his readers to the *Apology for Origen* for lists of Origen's works. If the *Life* had been published when those passages were penned, he would rather have referred to the full catalogue which it contained.

33. 1 *daring to say*, etc.] This passage is our only authority for the teaching of Beryllus, and it is difficult to explain. Two things however are clear. He recognized "(1) a distinct personality of the Logos after—though not before—the Incarnation, and (2) an efflux from the divine essence of the Father rather than whole Deity in Christ" (Bethune-Baker, p. 110). This resembles the teaching of Paul of Samosata (vii. 30 : see *J.T.S.* xix. 42), which is said to have been a development of Artemonism. We may therefore regard Beryllus as a Monarchian heretic of the school of Theodotus (see v. 28).

2 *Whereupon*] The date of these proceedings cannot be fixed; but they seem to belong to the reign of Gordian, and perhaps near its end.

3 *still extant*] All these documents are now lost.

4 *the Apology*] This work was in the hands of Photius in the ninth century. He tells us (118) that the first five books were written by Pamphilus when he was imprisoned at Cæsarea, in the company of Eusebius, and that the sixth and last book was written by Eusebius after the martyrdom of Pamphilus. It was addressed to Patermuthius (see

M.P. 13. 3) and others who were in the mines. The only portion of it which is now known is the first book, in the Latin translation of Rufinus (Routh, *R.S.* iv. 339 ff.).

34. *Philip*] Philip the Arabian (Marcus Julius Philippus) succeeded on the murder of Gordian in March 244.

him who was then presiding] St. Chrysostom (*De S. Bab.* 6, *P.G.* 1. 541) says he was Babylas, bishop of Antioch (29. 4; 39. 4).

35. *sixteen years*] Apparently an error for "fourteen years." See note, p. 265.

36. 1 *Origen . . . over sixty years of age*] The date is therefore after 246 (see 2. 12) and before the end of Philip's reign (249). But the assumption, made by some writers, that the works mentioned in § 2 belong to that short period is precarious.

discourses] Pamphilus (Routh, iv. 345) says they were delivered almost daily in the church.

2 *Celsus*] Celsus is generally believed to have written his *True Discourse* about 180. He appears to have been rather a Platonist than an Epicurean, though Origen so describes him (*Cels.* i. 8, etc). See *D.C.B.* i. 435 f., and J. Patrick, *The Apology of Origen*, 1892.

on . . . Matthew] Large portions remain, some in Latin, others in Greek.

on the twelve prophets . . . five and twenty] Lost. Eusebius implies that there were more than twenty-five tomes. Jerome (*V.I.* 75; *Ep.* 33. 4) gives the number as twenty-five; but his list mentions no commentary on Obadiah, and the commentaries on Hosea and Zechariah were apparently incomplete (Bardenhewer, ii. 144 f.).

3 *separate roll-cases*] τόμων περιγραφαῖς. Jerome (*Ep.* 33. 4) includes the epistles in his catalogue of Origen's writings, which no doubt represents the collection at Cæsarea. They are arranged in four groups, which contain respectively 2, 9, 2 and 2 books (*libri*). Probably the "books" represent papyrus rolls (τόμοι), each group indicating the contents of one of the boxes (κιβωτοί, cistæ, capsæ) in which they were kept. See Nestle, *Textual Criticism of N.T.* (E.T.), 1901, p. 43; Swete, p. 225. Before St. Jerome saw them they had apparently been transcribed on vellum, and were doubtless bound in codex form (ii. 18, note). The περιγραφαί of the text may be the boxes, as the τόμοι are the rolls. Rufinus cites a letter, of which he gives a long extract (*P.G.* xvii. 623 ff.) as "from the fourth book (*libro*) of Origen's epistles"—*i.e.* if we are right, the second roll of the second cista. The collection included letters to Origen, and decrees of synods concerning him.

4 *to Fabian*] Apparently the letter "in defence of his works," in two books, and, it seems, with a cista to itself, which concludes Jerome's list (Jer. *Epp.* 33. 4; 84. 10). It cannot

have been written before 236 (29. 1, note), and it probably had reference to Origen's condemnation at Rome under Pontianus (23. 4, note). If Origen sided with Hippolytus in his contest with Zephyrinus and his successors (14. 10, note), it is easy to understand why his defence was delayed till the strife had ended, and a Pope was elected who had no share in it.

the Apology] See 33. 4, note.

37. *again invited*] See 33. 2. This was his third visit to Arabia (19. 15). Some additional details of the controversy recorded in this chapter will be found in a Copto-Arabic Synaxarion quoted by Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 65 f. In it Dionysius is substituted for Origen, and "the district of Arianus" for Arabia.

38. *Helkesaites*] The principal authorities for this sect—if indeed it was a sect in the strict sense—are Hippol., *Ref.* ix. 13–17, the extract from Origen in this chapter, and Epiph., *Hær.* 29, 30, 53. The passages are collected in Hilgenfeld, *N.T. extra canonem*, ii. 229 and Harnack, *Überlief.* 207 ff. The Helkesaites first appear in history about 222, when one Alcibiades came to Rome from Apamea in Syria, with a book which purported to contain a revelation given to Helkesai by an Angel of enormous size, who was the Son of God, accompanied by a female of corresponding proportions, who was the Holy Spirit. Hippolytus gives extracts from this book, and apparently all the writers mentioned above derived their knowledge of Helkesaite doctrine from it. The revelation was dated in the book as given in the third year of Trajan (100–1). The persons who accepted the new teaching were apparently members of the Jewish sect of Essenes, who had adopted Ebionite Christianity. It is quite possible that the Helkesaites were in existence by the end of the first century. But however that may be, Eusebius is wrong in stating that their doctrine "had its beginning" in the time of Philip. He was probably misled by Origen: see below. He is equally wrong when he asserts that it was immediately "quenched." Epiphanius testifies that in his time it continued to exist, and it appears that as late as the tenth century a Sabæan sect adhered to some of the teachings of Helkesai, and regarded him as their founder. For further information see Salmon in *D.C.B.* ii. 95; Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 167; *Hist. of Dogma* (E.T.), i. 304 ff.; Brandt in *E.R.E.*, v. 262 ff.

on the eighty-second Psalm] Obviously Eusebius dates this homily under Philip, between 244 and 249; or, if it is one of the discourses taken down in short-hand (36.1), between 246 and 249.

a certain man] Was this Alcibiades (as Harnack thinks)?

lately come into opposition with the churches] Origen is probably speaking, not of the origin of the doctrine, but of the beginning of its contest with orthodoxy; and it is possible

that by "the churches" he means only those of Cæsarea and its neighbourhood. It is strange that Helkesaism had not sooner spread to that district, for, according to Epiphanius, it flourished in the district immediately east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. It had reached Syrian Apamea at least a quarter of a century earlier.

a matter of indifference] See Book of Helkesai, as paraphrased in Epiph. *Hær.* 19. 1.

produce a certain book] The exact phrase used of Alcibiades in Hippol., *Ref.* ix. 13.

fallen from heaven] An inexact statement. See first note on this chapter.

forgiveness, etc.] Hippol., *Ref.* ix. 13, "He enjoins that anyone who has turned, and has obeyed this book and believed, receives by baptism forgiveness of sins"; 15 (extract from the book), "Again I say, ye adulterers . . . . that, if ye will turn, your sins shall be forgiven . . . from the time that ye hear this book and are baptized a second time with your clothes on." Cp. the other extracts in the same chapter. It is curious that Origen does not mention the second baptism.

39. 1 *Decius*] Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius unwillingly headed a revolt of the army against Philip, and became emperor. The date of his accession is usually given as October 249. Then, no doubt, his appointment was generally accepted. But the evidence of an inscription seems to show that his elevation must be put back to the end of 248 (H. Schiller, *Geschichte d. römisch. Kaiserzeit*, i. 803; Gregg, pp. 4–6). In any case Eusebius errs when he says that Philip was emperor for seven years. His reign included five (or six) Septembers, and therefore, on his computation, five (or six) regnal years. See c. 34, note.

Fabian] Martyred 20 January 250. For the inscribed stone placed over his tomb, see Benson, p. 66. The election of a successor was impossible till Decius had left Rome on his expedition against the Goths (Benson, p. 126). Cornelius was elected in March 251, after a vacancy in the see of nearly fourteen months. He died in June 253.

2 *Alexander*] See c. 11; 46. 4.

4 *Fabius*] See 41. 1, note; 46. 4.

5 *what was the end*] This sentence is so ambiguous that it might easily suggest that Origen died as a martyr in the persecution and at Cæsarea. "The end" (τελευτῆς) might be supposed to refer to his death, and Cæsarea was clearly his home not long before. But he survived the persecution and died in 255, probably at Tyre (see vii. 1; *D.C.B.* iv. 103; Bardenhewer, ii. 111). The passage may have been repeated, almost verbatim, from the earlier Apology for Origen (33. 4). Thus we can understand Photius's assertion (118) that the

Apology represented him to have "departed this life by a glorious martyrdom at Cæsarea" under Decius. It is held by some that the events of this section took place at Tyre. But the statement of Photius, bungling though it is, may be used as evidence against such a hypothesis, which is in itself improbable.

40. 1 *Dionysius*] Here begins a long section extending to vii. 28, mainly based on the letters of Dionysius of Alexandria and for the most part concerned with the events of his episcopate. Dionysius has as prominent a place in the *History* as Origen, and to Eusebius we owe almost all we know of this remarkable man, and the preservation of most of the extant remains of his writings. These have been edited in a handy form by C. L. Feltoe.

against Germanus] πρὸς Γερμανόν, which might be rendered "to Germanus." But the letter does not seem to have been addressed to him: in another extract from it (vii. 11. 18) Germanus is spoken of in the third person. The letter is in fact Dionysius' defence, addressed apparently to a number of persons (vii. 11. 19), against the slanderous accusations of Germanus. See further note, p. 250.

I for my part] The emphatic ἐγώ no doubt points to a contrast between Dionysius and Germanus, whose statements were given in a previous passage.

taken flight] This refers to the persecution of Valerian, during which the letter was written (vii. 11. 18). The "former occasion" was, as he states, the persecution of Decius.

2 *Sabinus*] The prefect.

frumentarius] The *frumentarii*, otherwise called *milites peregrini* (soldiers from abroad), were a body instituted apparently by Augustus. It consisted of centurions of the legions in the provinces. As the name *frumentarius* implies, they had to do with the commissariat, but they also acted as couriers, and were employed on police work. Such of them as were on detached duty at Rome had their quarters in a camp on the Cælian hill, known as the *castra peregrinorum*, the commanding officer of which was called *princeps peregrinorum*. See Mommsen in *S.P.A.*, 1895, i. 495 ff.; Ramsay, *Paul the Traveller* (1907) 315, 348. According to Ramsay, Julius, the centurion who brought St. Paul to Rome, was a *frumentarius*.

3 *the boys*] These may be either the sons or the pupils or the servants of Dionysius (Feltoe, p. xiv; Dittrich, p. 4 f.).

4 *Timothy*] See vii. 26. 2. He is there called "the boy"; cp. § 3.

6 *a marriage feast*] In the town of Marea (vii. 11. 22), the capital of the Mareotic nome, many miles from Taposiris, which was just over the border, in the Libyan nome.

40. 9 *Gaius*, etc.] See vii. 11. 22; and for Faustus, vii. 11. 3, 6, 23, note.

led me away] For the sequel see vii. 11. 22 f.

41. 1 *Fabius*] See 39. 4. Fabius was somewhat inclined towards Novatianism (44. 1); and the purpose of this letter was to restrain him from joining in the schism (see 43. 1). Accordingly Dionysius gives an account of the persecution at Alexandria, pointing out that though many failed in the trial, many also were genuine martyrs, and dwelling on the kindly attitude of the latter to those of the former class who had repented. The letter appears to have been written in 251 after the consecration of Novatian.

a whole year] The decree of Decius was issued early enough to produce the martyrdom of Fabian at Rome on 20 January 250, *i.e.* about the beginning of the year. It may have been promulgated at Alexandria a few weeks later. This persecution must therefore have begun early in 249. It may have been connected in some way with the rebellion of Marinus (see Gibbon, i. 237 f.) and the subsequent elevation of Decius by the army in the closing days of 248 (39. 1, note).

prophet and creator] μάντις καὶ ποιητής. Perhaps "soothsayer and poet." It is vain to speculate on the identity of this person.

3 *Metras*] Commemorated in the West on January 31.

6 *Paul*] The Pauline authorship of Hebrews is assumed.

7 *Apollonia*] Commemorated in the Western Martyrologies on February 9. This date and that of Metras (§ 3) may be correct: see § 1, second note. For her self-immolation, cp. viii. 12. 5, note.

9 *civil war*] This may have been connected with the contest between Philip and Decius, which ended at the battle of Verona in 249; but evidently it was a strife between opposing factions at Alexandria.

rule that had been more kindly] The rule of Philip.

10 *the edict*] For date see § 1, note. No copy of the edict exists. A careful summary of its provisions, so far as they can be collected from available evidence, is given by Gregg, pp. 70–86.

11 *came forward*] St. Cyprian describes a similar scene at Carthage (*De Lapsis*, 8). Cp. also *Mart. Pion.* 12. 2.

14 *martyrs of His kingdom*] Cp. 42. 5: the martyrs "share the fellowship of His kingdom."

15 *Julian*] Commemorated in the West, with Eunus, on February 27, which date may be correct.

as ye know] Cp. 42. 6. The letter seems to have been addressed to the church of Antioch as well as to the bishop.

17 *Epimachus*] Commemorated with Alexander on December 12. This date also may be right, for the "long imprisonment" accounts for the interval from February (§ 15) to December.

The martyrs of § 18 are commemorated on the same day. The dates suggest that there was an interval of peace from March to November, 250, followed by a violent outburst in December.

41. 18 *four women*] Only three are named.

19 *Egyptians*] As distinct from the Alexandrians, who were regarded as Greeks. See Feltoe's note, p. 13. These martyrs are commemorated, with Dioscorus, on December 14.

20 *more lasting conflict*] After the close of the Decian persecution there was an expectation that a fresh and more severe conflict would begin. See Cyp. *Epp.* 55. 14, 17; 57; 58. 1.

21 *Nemesion*] December 19.

22 *band of soldiers*] December 20.

ground their teeth, etc.] Cp. v. 1. 49 f.

42. 1 *Ischyrion*] December 22. Assuming that this and the preceding dates are right, and that Eusebius has omitted no subsequent martyrs, it would seem that the persecution at Alexandria ceased, or became much less severe, by the end of 250. This harmonizes with the fact that after the release of the confessors at Rome (43. 5, note) it was possible to elect a successor to Fabian in March 251 (39. 1, note).

3 *Arabian mountain*] The mountainous Arabian Desert east of the Nile, south of Heroopolis.

4 *Saracens*] Apparently the earliest occurrence of the name in literature. Etheria, towards the end of the fourth century, tells us that, on her journey northwards from Klysma (Suez), "leaving the land of the Saracens she entered the territory of Egypt," and came to Heroopolis (*Pilg.* Bernard, p. 21; McClure and Feltoe, p. 15). Evidently the inhabitants of the "Arabian mountain" were then called Saracens, and it was not regarded as within Egypt.

5 *assessors . . . along with Him*] Cp. Cyp. *Ep.* 31. 3: "What can be more glorious . . . than to possess (*retinere*) the heavenly kingdom with no delay, than to be made in the name of Christ a colleague with Christ in suffering, than by the divine condescension to be made a judge over his own judge?"

admitted . . . as "consistentes"] συνήγαγον καὶ συνέστησαν. The *consistentes*, or bystanders (συνιστάμενοι), were the highest order of penitents. They were admitted to the eucharistic prayers, but debarred from communion. See *D.C.A.* ii. 1595. For συνήγαγον see vii. 7. 4 ("admitted them to the congregation").

6 *brethren*] Cp. 41. 15, note.

43. 1 *Novatus*] *i.e.* Novatian. See note, p. 233.

Puritans] καθαρούς, pure.

2 *synod*] When the persecution subsided, Cyprian, who had been in retirement for fourteen months, returned to Carthage shortly after Easter (23 March) 251, and assembled a council

which began its proceedings in April (Cyp. *Ep.* 43. 1). The decisions of this council were communicated to Cornelius, and were accepted by the synod mentioned in the text (*ib.* 55. 6), apparently in June 251 (see Benson, p. 159). Eusebius expressly mentions the African synod only in § 3; but it is probably referred to in the words, "while in the rest of the provinces," etc. He apparently thought that it followed the Roman one. But obviously it was the earlier and more important of the two.

43. 2 *individually considered*] Cp. § 21 f.

3 *there have reached us*] Eusebius is here describing the contents of a volume of letters. See *Euseb.* 152.

a letter] ἐπιστολαί. The plural is often used of a single letter. See Lightfoot, *Ign.* iii. 327, 348. The letters here mentioned are lost, except for the extracts from the fourth given in the following sections.

5 *has been seeking*] Cp. § 7, and see note, p. 234 f.

the confessors] A remarkable group, the members of which are frequently mentioned in the Cyprianic correspondence, consisting of two presbyters, Moses (§ 20) and Maximus, two deacons, Nicostratus and Rufinus, and four laymen, Celerinus, Sidonius, Urban and Macarius. All of them were imprisoned at Rome; but Celerinus, Sidonius (a Punic name) and Macarius (see *D.C.B.* iii. 774, Macarius 20) seem to have been Carthaginians. Celerinus was apparently the first confessor in the persecution at Rome, and he was examined by Decius himself (Cyp. *Epp.* 22. 1; 39. 2). He was released before Easter (April 7) 250 (*ib.* 21. 1, 2), and went to Carthage at the end of the year, where he was ordained reader (*ib.* 37. 1; 39. 14). The rest were imprisoned after the martyrdom of Fabian (*ib.* 28. 1). Of these Moses died on or shortly after 31 December (Liberian Catalogue, Mommsen, p. 75, Lightfoot, 255; cp. Cyp. *Ep.* 37. 1, 2). Rufinus may also have died in prison, for we hear nothing of him after September 250 (Cyp. *Ep.* 32). Their companions were set at liberty in January or February 251. They were persuaded by Novatus (see note, p. 233) to join the party of Novatian. But, with the exception of Nicostratus (Cyp. *Epp.* 50; 52. 1), they all returned to the allegiance of Cornelius within a day or two of the departure of Novatus from Rome to Carthage (*ib.* 49; 52. 1, 2). Their reconciliation seems to have taken place in June or July (Benson, p. 161, n. 1). Curiously Cornelius omits the name of Macarius in § 6 and in his letter to Cyprian announcing the return of the confessors (Cyp. *Ep.* 49). It is certain, however, that he recanted with the rest (*ib.* 51. 1; 53; 54). On the other hand, Celerinus cannot have been among the number (see above). Accordingly Cornelius when writing to Cyprian does not refer to him. He may have been restored to communion at an earlier time, possibly at Carthage; but the present

passage is our only evidence of his lapse into Novatianism. And indeed it is difficult to harmonize it with what we otherwise know of him.

43. 6 *a number of bishops*] Five in number (Cornelius ap. Cyp. *Ep.* 49. 2).

7 *terrible oaths*] The oaths may be discounted. Cp. note, p. 234 f.

8 *this master of doctrine*, etc.] Cornelius is sarcastic, but he speaks the truth. See note, p. 233. Observe the phrases of Novatian (Cyp. *Ep.* 30. 1, 4), in which he commends a mind which relies on "the vigour of evangelical discipline," and the confessors who "maintained the severity of the evangelical discipline." In Ps.-Cyp. *Spect.* 1 he complains that "the vigour of ecclesiastical discipline is weakened."

three bishops] The minimum number of consecrators according to the Council of Nicæa, can. 4. But it cannot be inferred from the mention of that number that the rule was already in force. Cornelius had sixteen consecrators (Cyp. *Ep.* 55. 24). He points here the contrast between his many supporters and the few who had rallied round his rival.

10 *the remaining bishops*] One of these seems to have been Evaristus, of whom Cornelius says (Cyp. *Ep.* 50) that he had been with the *auctor* of the schism, and that a successor had been appointed to his see.

11 *vindicator of the Gospel*] Benson (p. 147) compares Cyp. *Epp.* 44. 3; 46. 2, where "adsertores euangelii" and "euangelium Christi adserere" represent "the watchword" of Novatianism.

one bishop in a catholic church] Cp. Cyp. *Ep.* 49. 2. In the form of recantation there given the confessors declare, "We are not ignorant that there is one God and one Lord Christ whom we have confessed, one Holy Spirit, and that there should be one bishop in a catholic church."

fifteen hundred widows, etc.] Burnet, Gibbon and others suppose that this implies about 50,000 Christians in Rome, Harnack and Renan 30,000 or more. Taking the mean between the two estimates, the Christians may have been 4 or 5 per cent. of the population (Benson, *Cyp.* 68; Harnack, *Expansion*, ii. 248).

all of whom] *i.e.* the clergy as well as the widows and distressed persons.

14 *his acceptance of the faith*] Novatian was therefore a convert. Cp. § 17, "when he came to believe."

15 *the sealing by the bishop*] In later language "confirmation." Cp. 5. 6, note. The statement is probably false. There is no reference to this defect of his baptism in § 17.

16 *the cell*] See note, p. 234. Persons who lived in retirement during persecution were liable to accusations of cowardice and failure in duty. Cyprian was not exempt from such charges

(Cyp. *Ep.* 8). What is said in this section is scarcely reconcilable with the charge that Novatian was aspiring to the episcopate.

43. 16 *no longer wished*, etc.] See note below, and Benson, p. 121 f. The second clause would no doubt have been accurate if the words "a different" had been omitted.

17 *For when*] See Introd. p. 21.

18 *instead of the blessing*] This is difficult to interpret in our ignorance of the method of administration. Apparently Novatian substituted for the formula of administration (if indeed there were any) the command to swear allegiance. The communicant was obliged to substitute for the customary *Amen* (cp. Cyr. Hierus. *Cat. Myst.* v. 21 f.)—which might be regarded as a blessing or giving of thanks—the imprecation. But is the whole story a fabrication?

20 *Moses*] See § 5, note.

the five presbyters] Of these nothing is known. There were forty-six presbyters at Rome (§ 11).

Note on Novatian

The founder of the Novatianist sect is called by Eusebius, and subsequent Greek writers, Novatus, but by the Westerns, no doubt rightly, Novatianus (cp. the letters of Dionysius in c. 45 and vii. 8). Novatus (whom Eusebius does not mention) was an African, who headed the party which, in opposition to St. Cyprian, demanded the immediate restoration to communion of the *Lapsi* in the persecution of Decius, and who afterwards migrated to Italy, and there upheld, in opposition to Pope Cornelius, the opinion that the *Lapsi* could not be restored, and thus became the *auctor* of the Novatianist schism.

Novatian was a Roman, apparently of heathen parentage. He received clinical baptism, in mature age, when he was suffering from a disease which seemed mortal. He recovered, however, and was subsequently ordained presbyter (43. 16, 17). Thus far we may accept the statements of Pope Cornelius in his envenomed letter to Fabius. But in order to form a just estimate of Novatian's character we must use other sources of information, and especially his own writings. We have the testimony of Cyprian (*Ep.* 55. 5) that he wrote a letter in the name of the Roman presbyters and deacons during the vacancy of the see, caused by the martyrdom of Fabian, to Cyprian himself (Cyp. *Ep.* 30: August 250, Harnack). Considerations of style compel us to regard another letter of the Roman clergy to Cyprian as his work (*Ep.* 36: August–September 250; see Benson, p. 122, note). It is also universally allowed that Jerome (*V.I.* 70) rightly

attributed to him the books *De Trinitate* and *De Cibis Judæis*. Harnack also (*Chron.* ii. 400 ff.) with good reason claims for him four writings falsely ascribed to Cyprian : *De Spectaculis*, *De bono pudicitiæ*, *Adversus Judæos*, *De laude martyrii*. A perusal of these works shows clearly that their author was a man well versed in philosophy and rhetoric, and of lofty ideals. This is, indeed, in harmony with Cyprian's acknowledgement (*Epp.* 55. 24; 60. 3) that Novatian was a philosopher—apparently of the Stoic school (*Ep.* 55. 16)—and eloquent.

But that is not all. Since he was a presbyter during the vacancy of the see (Cyp. *Epp.* 30, 36; cp. Cornelius in 43. 16), his ordainer must have been Fabian (or possibly one of his predecessors). Cornelius tells us that he was ordained against the will of the whole clergy. This must be a gross exaggeration. Would the clergy who were thus opposed to him have later made him the exponent of their opinion in their letters to Cyprian? Whatever opposition there may have been only emphasizes the honour paid to him by the bishop, who overruled the objection to his ordination, based on his clinical baptism (43. 17). That he did so makes it very difficult to accept the charge of Cornelius (43. 15), that Novatian neglected to seek the completion of his baptism in confirmation. We may fairly suggest that the opposition to his ordination had its root (whatever may have been its pretext) in the jealousy of an illiterate clergy (witnessed by the style of their letter, not written by him, Cyp. *Ep.* 8) towards a scholarly man. That he held a high place among the presbyters is proved not only by the letters written in their name, but also by the testimony of his enemy, the writer of the treatise *Ad Novatianum*, who tells us (§ 13, Hartel, ii. 63) that, when a presbyter, " he wept for the faults of others as his own, had borne the burdens of the brethren, as the apostle exhorts, and had confirmed those whose faith faltered with heavenly addresses." It is impossible to believe that such a man renounced his office as a presbyter, though it may be true that —for good reason—he remained during the persecution in retirement for the purpose of philosophical contemplation (43. 16).

It seems that as time went on Novatian's views with regard to the *Lapsi* became more rigorous (cp. Cyp. *Ep.* 55. 5). Thus we can account for his estrangement from Moses and the majority of the Roman presbyters (43. 20). But it should be noted that even Cornelius does not suggest that the other confessors stood aloof from him. The climax came when Novatus arrived at Rome shortly after the election of Cornelius and engineered a schism. That he contrived the consecration of Novatian as bishop, and secured the adhesion of the released confessors to him, we have sufficient evidence (Cyp. *Epp.* 47; 49. 1, 2; 52. 2; Liberian Catalogue). In

spite of all that Cornelius says to the contrary (43. 7, 8, 13), we need not doubt that Novatian was made bishop against his will. He avowed this to Dionysius of Alexandria, and that large-hearted prelate took him at his word (c. 45). Some time after the consecration—possibly during the persecution of Gallus—Novatian was parted from his flock at Rome for a considerable period : but he kept up his communication with them by letter (*Spect.* 1 ; *De cibis* 1). From the treatise *Ad Novatianum* (written certainly not before the end of 253, and, perhaps, as Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 387, maintains, by Xystus II in 257-8 : but see Benson, 557) we gather that Novatian was stirred to renewed activity, and became a formidable enemy to ecclesiastical discipline. This is our last certain glimpse of him ; for the statement of Socrates (*H.E.* iv. 28) that he suffered martyrdom under Valerian is open to doubt.

44. 1 *his letter*] Obviously the letter from which quotations are given in cc. 41, 42. For its purpose see 41. 1, note. In the present passage he adduces a further argument for lenity to the *Lapsi*.

astonishing tale] For the miraculous element in the story see § 5.

2 *he had sacrificed*] The sacrificers were regarded as the most culpable of the *Lapsi*. See 46. 1, note.

3 *ye*] Note the plural.

4 *I had given an order*] A similar rule had been made by the Roman presbyters (including Novatian), and had been adopted by Cyprian, and communicated to all churches (Cyp. *Epp.* 19. 2; 20. 3; 30. 8; 55. 5).

5 *the boy soaked it*] This was done in the sick man's house. The " Eucharist " must therefore have been soaked in water, or unconsecrated wine—a very early instance of communion in one kind.

gave up the ghost] Serapion's miraculous knowledge of what had passed when he was unconscious, and the fact that he survived to the moment at which he received the Eucharist, are the point of the story. They are taken to be a divine intimation that Dionysius' rule was right.

45. *it were not less glorious*] Cp. Cyprian (*Ep.* 54. 1) to the Roman confessors after their return to the Church : " This is a fresh confession of your faith and praise, that you confess that the Church is one."

46. 1 *This also he wrote*] This chapter gives a list of letters contained in a single volume, in which the letters to Fabius and Novatian (cc. 44, 45) stood first. See *Euseb.* 154 ff. The title of the chapter in the table of contents is " On the other letters of Dionysius "—*i.e.* those which, in addition to the two just mentioned, were comprised in the same volume. The subject of the series is the Novatianist schism.

46. 1 *degrees of failures*] St. Cyprian also dealt with this matter, maintaining, *e.g.*, that a libellatic was less culpable than one who had sacrificed, and should therefore be admitted to communion on easier conditions (*Epp.* 55. 13, 14, 17; 57. 3).

2 *the Hermopolitans*] There were several cities of Egypt called Hermopolis. Probably Hermopolis Magna is referred to here (Harnack, *Expansion*, ii. 167). A fragment of the letter to Colon is extant (Feltoe, p. 60). It enjoins that the dying shall be admitted to communion; and that, if they recover, the admission shall hold good (cp. 44. 4). This is exactly the teaching of St. Cyprian (*Ep.* 55. 13, 29).

On Martyrdom] Some passages in a catena on St. Luke, preserved in two MSS., and stated to have been taken from an epistle "of Dionysius of Alexandria to Origen," may belong in part to this letter. See Feltoe, p. 229 ff.; Bardenhewer, ii. 212 f.

Laodicea] Laodicea in Syria, south of Antioch. See vii. 5. 1 and note.

Armenia] The earliest mention of Christianity in Armenia. Two Armenian eunuchs, Calocerus and Parthenius, are said to have suffered martyrdom at Rome under Decius. They are commemorated on 19 May in the Hieronymian Martyrology. See *AA.SS.*, May, iv. 301. Cp. ix. 8. 2.

3 *Helenus*] See vii. 30. 2.

Firmilian] See vii. 28. 1, note.

the synod at Antioch] See vii. 27. 2, note.

certain were attempting] Cp. 44. 1.

4 *Demetrian was appointed*] The letter was therefore written early in 253 (Harnack, *Chron.* i. 215).

Alexander] See 8. 7; 11. 1–6. The news of his death may have been conveyed in a second letter to Cornelius.

5 *diaconic*] διακονική. The meaning is uncertain. Perhaps Benson's rendering (*Cyprian*, p. 171 f.), "serviceable," is the best of many guesses. Hippolytus, who seems to have been the bearer of the letter, cannot be identified, for Benson's view (p. 169 f.) that he was Hippolytus of Rome is very improbable.

the confessors] See 43. 5, note.

BOOK VII

Pref. *the great*] This title is here given to Dionysius for the first time in extant literature. He is frequently called Dionysius the Great in later ages.

1. *murdered*] At the battle of Forum Trebonii. Gallus succeeded not later than August 251 (*Gibbon*, i. 250, n. 52). The rule of Decius actually lasted for about one year and nine months (but see vi. 39. 1, note), though in the *Chronicle* (p. 300) Eusebius assigns him a term of only one year and three months.

his sons] His son Decius was slain with him. Another son, Hostilianus, survived him by a few months, and was associated with Gallus in the Empire.

Gallus succeeded] Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus.

at this time] A vague date. Origen died apparently in 255, in the reign of Valerian (see vi. 2. 12).

to Hermammon] See 22. 12.

drove away the holy men] The persecution of Gallus began about August 252.

2. *about three years*] Cornelius was banished to Centumcellæ (Civita Vecchia) by Gallus, June 253, after an episcopate of two years and three months, and died there. Eusebius may have mistaken the number of months in his list of the Roman bishops for years. Cp. Introd., p. 42. His successor Lucius (26 June 253–5 March 254 : Introd., p. 46) was banished to the same place after his election, but soon returned to Rome. Eusebius's "*less than* eight entire months" is inaccurate. The accession of Stephen belongs to the reign of Valerian. Eusebius places it under Gallus, being unaware, probably, of the long vacancy of the see after the martyrdom of Fabian (vi. 39. 1). But in the *Chronicle* (p. 300) he places the election of Cornelius in the first year of Gallus, not, as here (cp. vi. 39. 1), under Decius.

letters on Baptism] This series of seven letters (cc. 2–9) formed a volume (*Euseb.* 159 f.). At least five of the series were numbered. They all belong to the time of Valerian, though they are here placed under Gallus : no doubt because Eusebius supposed that the first letter (to Pope Stephen) was written in that reign. See previous note. For the controversy to which they refer see note, p. 240.

laying on of hands] Cp. Stephen (Cyp. *Ep.* 74. 1) : "If any come to us from any heresy whatever, let there be no

innovation made, but according to tradition, let the hand be laid upon them unto repentance."

3. *first*] Apparently not the earliest, but the chief (cp. 1 Tim. i. 15 f.); see 7. 5.

4. *the persecution*] That of Gallus. The persecution is not mentioned in the extract; but it may perhaps have been referred to in the preceding context.

5. 1 *have been united*] The point of this passage is made clear by the extract from the second letter in § 4. Dionysius is remonstrating with Stephen concerning his threat of excommunication. Such action would have destroyed the harmony which had so lately been established.

Demetrian] The successor of Fabius (vi. 46. 4).

Ælia] Jerusalem (iv. 6. 4).

Alexander] The parenthesis is misplaced. Alexander was bishop of Jerusalem (vi. 39. 2, 3), not of Tyre.

Laodicea] The Syrian Laodicea, south of Antioch, as the order of the names, Tyre, Laodicea, Tarsus, seems to show.

Firmilian] See 28. 1, note.

2 *Syrias*] Cœle Syria and Syria Palestina.

Arabia] The province of Arabia Petræa.

ye constantly help] An instance of the customary liberality of the bishops of Rome to other churches. See iv. 23. 9, 10, and cp. Salmon, *Infall.*, p. 368 f.

3 *two years*] Really more than three years, March 254–2 Aug. 257.

Xystus] Xystus (or Sixtus) II. His episcopate lasted from August or September 257 to 6 August 258 (Introd., p. 46). Thus the date of the second letter is fixed within a year.

4 *had written formerly*] That is, apparently, before he wrote to Cyprian. That he did write to Cyprian in similar terms is proved by the letter of Firmilian (Cyp. *Ep.* 75. 6, 25).

that he would not hold communion] Apparently rather a threat than an actual declaration of excommunication (Benson, p. 354).

same reason] The reason which he had alleged in his letter to Cyprian.

5 *synods*] At Iconium, Synnada, and perhaps elsewhere (see 7. 5).

I learn] Dionysius had been making inquiries. Cp. 7. 5.

6 *Dionysius*] He succeeded Xystus in the bishopric; see 7. 6. It seems that by this time these presbyters had to some extent departed from the views of Stephen, on whose side they had formerly been.

wrote . . . to me] Pres. participle. It may mean "were correspondents of mine," possibly while Stephen was alive (Benson, 355).

I wrote] Referring to the third letter, and perhaps the

fourth (cc. 7, 8). This shows that the letters were not arranged in strict chronological order.

6. *Sabellian heresy*] Of the history of Sabellius all that is known is that he taught at Rome under Zephyrinus (199–217) and was excommunicated by Callistus (217–222). See Hippol. *Ref.* ix. 11, 12. It cannot be inferred from the present passage that he was alive when Dionysius wrote, or that he had visited the Pentapolis. See further 26. 1.

Ptolemais] The capital of the Libyan Pentapolis, in the north-west of Cyrenaica. This district was within the jurisdiction of Dionysius (Dittrich, p. 26 f.).

7. 1–3 Eusebius obviously gives this passage on account of its autobiographical interest; it is unfortunate that he does not indicate its bearing on the question at issue—the value to be attached to heretical baptism.

3 *the cause of thy faith*] Dionysius was therefore a convert from heathenism; and the context perhaps suggests that he had belonged to some heretical sect for a short time.

apostolic saying] The saying is quoted by many earlier writers, and is usually cited as a saying of Christ. See James, p. 35, and cp. Milligan on 1 Thess. v. 22.

4 *This rule*] Heraclas, and after him Dionysius, admitted to communion persons who had been baptized in the Church and had lapsed to heresy, by the laying on of hands, without a second baptism. But the final sentence of the excerpt implies that those who had received heretical baptism were not admitted without a second baptism. It is also hinted that the predecessor of Heraclas—Demetrius—granted admission on easier terms. Cp. 9. 2, note. This rule was also the rule of Cyprian; for he says of " those who had first been baptized in the Church and afterwards went over to the heretics," that " when they return they must do penance and be received by imposition of the hand only, and be restored by the pastor to the flock from which they had strayed " (*Ep.* 74. 12).

pope] This is the earliest known occasion on which an Alexandrian bishop is entitled " pope," though later on there are several instances of the practice. About the same time (250) the Roman presbyters addressed Cyprian as " blessed pope "; but the earliest certain evidence of the application of the title to a bishop of Rome comes from the beginning of the fourth century. See Benson, p. 29 ff.

the holy baptism] Apparently in contrast to the profane baptism of the heretics.

5 *learnt*] By enquiry. Cp. 5. 5.

Iconium and Synnada] The synod of Iconium decreed that the baptism of the Montanists was invalid. It included bishops from Galatia and Cilicia and other neighbouring districts. Firmilian was present at it, and, writing in 256, he says that it had been held long ago (iam pridem) (Cyp.

Ep. 75. 7, 19). Dionysius implies that it met a considerable time before his episcopate began (247). On the other hand, Firmilian lived till 268 (28. 1, note), and it is therefore improbable that he was raised to the episcopate much before 230, while it is certain that he was a bishop shortly after that year (vi. 27). The date of the synod may be very roughly dated *c.* 230. The Synod of Synnada may have been held about the same time, but it is not mentioned elsewhere.

8. *without mercy*] As not acting tenderly towards the lapsed. The strength of Dionysius' language here is in marked contrast to his letter in vi. 45.

sets at naught the holy washing] By re-baptizing converts to his sect. That this was his practice is certain (Cyp. *Ep.* 73. 2).

banishes the Holy Spirit] This seems to mean that re-baptism destroyed the benefit conferred by their baptism in the Church. But the interpretation of the passage is very difficult.

9. 2 *I think*] Perhaps because under Heraclas (as his "rule" given in 7. 4 implies: see note below) a man who had been baptized in heresy would not have been admitted to the Church, as this believer evidently was, without a second baptism.

recently being baptized] This implies that the letter was written shortly after Easter (or Pentecost): *i.e.*, since the only Easter in Xystus's episcopate was on 11 April 258 (see 5. 3, note), in April–May (or June) 258. For the seasons at which baptism was administered at Alexandria, see Cabrol, ii. 1. 258.

5 *at the prayers*] The prayers to which the *Consistentes* (vi. 42. 5, note) were admitted, before the Anaphora.

6 *Dionysius*] See 30. 23, note.

Lucian] Perhaps the martyr of ix. 6. 3 (Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 139). But see *Euseb.* 176.

Note on the Controversy on Baptism

In the West the rise of this controversy was closely connected with the Novatianist sect. The practice of baptizing heretics who came over to the Church had been definitely approved by a council under Agrippinus, bishop of Carthage about 213 (Cyp., *Epp.* 70. 1; 71. 4; 73. 3; *Sent. episc.* 4: for date see Benson, p. 335 ff.). But the decree of this Council had in view bodies outside the Church which taught false doctrine. The Novatianists, though separatists, accepted the orthodox faith: a position for which there was no precedent before 251. St. Cyprian (*Ep.* 69; cp. *De Unit.* 11, 17) refused

to accept their baptism on the simple ground that they were a sect apart from the Church. But it seems that he had to contend with the scruples of some who were not prepared to deal with Novatianists in the same way as with heretical bodies (*Ep.* 69. 1, 3, 7). Gradually, however (*ib.* 70; 72, 1; 73. 1), the personality of St. Cyprian brought all Africa to his side, and it was ruled at the plenary synod of September 256 that all sectaries who sought admission to the Church must be baptized, unless they had received baptism before they joined the sect to which they belonged (*Sent. episc.*; cp. Cyp., *Ep.* 73. 9). In the Church of Rome, on the other hand, heretics had always been received by imposition of hands. Pope Stephen accepted this tradition, and pushed it to its extreme limit, accepting as valid the baptism even of such bodies as the Marcionites, no questions being asked of those who desired admission to communion as to the manner of their baptism (Cyp., *Epp.* 73. 4, 18; 74. 7; 75. 9). In the East the practice of baptizing heretics began apparently much earlier than in Africa. Firmilian in fact regards it as an apostolic custom (Cyp., *Ep.* 75. 5, 6, 19). Contrast this with the reiterated plea of Cyprian (*Epp.* 71. 2, 3; 73. 13, 23), that custom should give way to reason. Apparently Cyprian could find no tradition in favour of baptizing converts from heresy earlier than Agrippinus. But the rise of the Montanists presented to the Easterns a problem similar to that which perplexed the Westerns with regard to the Novatianists. The fundamental difference between the Montanists and the Church had to do with discipline rather than with doctrine. Thus we may account for the numerous synods which discussed the question at Iconium, Synnada and elsewhere, in the first half of the third century (7. 5; Cyp., *Ep.* 75. 7, 19). They arrived at decisions similar to those of St. Cyprian. At Alexandria, it would seem, the rejection of heretical baptism began under Heraclas (7. 4; 9. 2, notes)—in other words not before 233. Possibly the rule of Heraclas was a result of the synods of Iconium and Synnada. Whether he rejected Montanist baptism we do not know. Of the opinion of Dionysius of Alexandria there can be no doubt, if a Syriac fragment which bears his name (Feltoe, p. 49) is accepted as genuine. It runs thus: "Those who were baptized in the name of the three Persons . . . though they were baptized by heretics (if only those heretics confess the three Persons), shall not be re-baptized. But those who are converted from other heresies shall be perfected by the baptism of the holy Church." But, as this passage is suspect (*ib.* p. 42), it may be well to use other evidence. Jerome tells us (*V.I.* 69) that Dionysius was in agreement with Cyprian and the African Council on this question. It is difficult to suppose that Jerome had no ground for this statement; but it is clear, nevertheless,

that it is an exaggeration. For Basil (*Ep.* 188 can. 1; *P.G.* xxxii. 664) notes with astonishment that Dionysius accepted the baptism of the Montanists, and he seems to imply that he did not re-baptize Novatianists. But Basil's astonishment can hardly be explained unless Dionysius rejected the baptism of others who were more distinctly heretical in their doctrine. We may infer that, if he was not a follower of Cyprian, neither did he hold the view of Stephen. And his own letters confirm this conclusion. He professes (7. 4) that he held to the rule of Heraclas that those who left the Church and became heretics should be received back without baptism, "because they had formerly received the holy thing from him." This reason would have been pointless if those who were baptized in heresy could be admitted on the same terms. Again (9. 4), he declined to re-baptize an aged Christian who discovered that his baptism was heretical, on the ground that he had long been a communicant. An adherent of Stephen would have argued that his baptism, though heretical, was valid, and that to baptize him afresh would be a violation of the principle of "one baptism." It is true that he reproached the Novatianists for re-baptizing converts from the Church (c. 8, note). But this involves no general condemnation of re-baptism. To baptize one who already had valid baptism he regarded as a "setting at nought of the holy washing"; but it does not follow that he would have so regarded the baptism of one who had heretical and therefore invalid baptism. That Dionysius approximated more nearly to the opinion of Stephen's successors than to that of Stephen himself is not impossible; for Pope Dionysius, while still a presbyter, seems to have departed somewhat from the standpoint of Stephen, and corresponded with his Alexandrian namesake (5. 6); and on one occasion Dionysius asked advice from Pope Xystus regarding a difficult case (9. 1). On the whole it seems that his view was midway between those of Stephen and Cyprian, and that he exercised a moderating influence which made for peace. And it is quite possible that (as Dittrich contends) he was more concerned for the peace of the Church than for the merits of the case. See Dittrich, pp. 82–91; Benson, p. 355 f. The controversy ended at the Council of Arles in 314, where the following canon was promulgated: "Since the Africans are used, according to their law, to re-baptize, we decree that if any come to the Church from heresy they shall interrogate him as to his creed; and if they perceive that he was baptized in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, only the hand shall be laid upon him, that he may receive the Holy Ghost. But if on interrogation he do not in his answer aver this Trinity, he shall be baptized" (Can. 8). This is generally regarded as an endorsement of the opinion of Pope Stephen. But it is questionable (see, however, Benson,

p. 406 f.) whether he would have subscribed to the last clause (cp. Conc. Nic. 325, can. 19). The Council of Arles rather seems to have taken a middle course between Stephen and Cyprian.

10. 1 *his associates*] One of these was his son Volusianus, who was co-Augustus.

less than two entire years] According to the *Chronicle* (p. 300) two years and four months. The dates are uncertain; but Gallus reigned from before 29 August 251 to about June 253. Æmilianus, governor of Pannonia, was proclaimed emperor in the May or June before the death of Gallus, and was murdered in September. Valerian (Publius Licinius Valerianus) and Gallienus (Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus) were emperors before 22 October 253. Eusebius seems to include the reign of Æmilianus under that of Valerian. See *Gibbon*, i. 250, 252.

2 *letter to Hermammon*] See 22. 12. Eusebius has already used, for his account of Novatianism, two volumes of documents (vi. 43, 46), the latter of which consisted of a series of letters of Dionysius, and a third (vii. 2–9) for the baptismal controversy. He now turns to a fourth volume (cc. 10–23), the festal epistles of Dionysius, as his main authority for the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus. This fourth volume he had apparently consulted when writing the section which deals with the Decian persecution (vi. 40 : see note, p. 250), and the same volume has also supplied him with all that he tells us about Gallus (c. 1). We shall see (cc. 20–23, notes) that he assumed that they followed one another in chronological order, and that in consequence he has fallen into error in one or two places regarding the persecution of Valerian.

2, 3 *And to John also,* etc.] It seems impossible to give a reasonable translation of the text of this extract to which the MSS. point as original. The best emendation, among many that have been proposed, seems to be that suggested in the footnote (§ 3). Accepting it, we may interpret as follows. The opening formula shows that in the preceding context a passage of Scripture, not from the Apocalypse, was quoted, which predicted Valerian, and (as we may suppose) depicted him as favourable to the Church. The word "both" (*ἀμφότερα*) refers to it and Rev. xiii. 5. In the latter of these passages Valerian is "the beast" after which the whole earth "wondered" (*v.* 3). Dionysius would have us "wonder" at *both* pictures, representing a single person—but especially at the former. In his view the one describes the Emperor in the earlier years of his reign, in which he befriended the Christians, the other in the later, when, having yielded to the persuasions of Macrianus (§ 4 f.), he was a persecutor.

2 *forty and two months*] This period runs from the beginning

of the persecution (August 257 : *D.C.B.*, iv. 1101) to its cessation after the capture of Valerian (§ 7). The latter event is therefore dated about February 261.

10. 3 *Christians*] Evidently Alexander (vi. 28) and Philip (vi. 34). This is the earliest suggestion that they were Christians; and the hypothesis is exceedingly improbable. See Gregg, p. 43 f.

4 *master and ruler of the synagogue*] Macrianus (§ 5). This statement is rhetorical, and means no more than that Macrianus favoured the magians. It implies that he had considerable influence in Egypt.

holy men] Christian exorcists.

were capable] Cp. viii. 4. 2, note.

as being rivals, etc.] Cp. viii. 4. 2, note.

advised him] This seems to mean that Macrianus induced Valerian to be initiated into a mystery.

5 *minister*, etc.] ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων. The Greek equivalent of *rationalis*, minister of finance. Dionysius in §§ 5, 6 makes an elaborate play on the word καθόλου (καθολική), "universal."

6 *his name*] Macrianus, supposed to be derived from μακρός, long, far.

7 *said to Isaiah*] Valerian started on his ill-starred Persian expedition about the time that the persecution began. He was captured by the Persian king, Shapur I, and, it is said, was subjected to many indignities. He never returned. For the date of the capture see § 2, note.

8 *this man*] Macrianus. This passage harmonizes with the conclusion of Bury (*Gibbon*, i. 460), that Macrianus did not assume the purple. He and Balista secured the proclamation of the two sons of Macrianus—Titus Fulvius Junius Macrianus and Titus Fulvius Junius Quietus—as emperors in 261. A sentence or two seems to have been omitted before this section. As the text stands "this man" would naturally mean Valerian (§ 7).

maimed body] He was lame (Zonaras xii. 24).

11. 1 *persecution*] There were two stages in the persecution of Valerian. It began with an edict (or rescript) issued in the names of the two emperors, apparently in August 257; and at the same time letters were sent to the governors of the provinces regarding its administration. Of the edict or the letters no copy remains, but their main provisions can be gathered from the official records of the examination of Cyprian (30 August : see Hartel, ii. p. cx ff.) and Dionysius (§§ 6–11). It was enjoined that bishops, priests and deacons should be brought before the governors and required to perform the customary rites to the imperial gods. In case of refusal they were to be banished. Christians of all grades were prohibited from assembling together, and from entering the cemeteries. The punishment of those who did not go to

the appointed place of exile would be death, under the ordinary law of deportation, and those who met in assemblies or entered the cemeteries were liable to the same penalty. A year later a rescript was sent to the Senate, under the provisions of which Pope Xystus was martyred on 6 August 258. For this fact, and for the substance of the rescript, we are indebted to the eightieth letter in the Cyprianic correspondence. The rescript was much more drastic than the edict. Bishops, priests and deacons were to be put to death straightway, senators, "egregii," and Roman knights were to be deprived of their dignities and of their property, and if after this they persevered in their Christianity, they were to be beheaded. Christian "matrons" were to be "relegated," their goods being confiscated; and Cæsarians (officers of the civil service) were to be put in bonds, enrolled as slaves, and sent to work in the imperial estates. The account of the persecution given here from the letters of Dionysius belongs for the most part to the earlier rather than the later stage.

11. 1 *against Germanus*] See vi. 40. 1; vii. 20, and note, p. 250.

3 *Æmilianus*] Lucius Mussius Æmilianus, deputy-prefect of Egypt in 258 (§ 6; *Oxyr. Pap.*, Nos. 1201, 1468); in October 259 he is styled "prefect" (Rylands Library Pap. 110). He was one of the "thirty tyrants" (apparently only sixteen in number; *Gibbon*, i. 460 ff.), who endeavoured to wrest the throne from Gallienus after the capture of Valerian. He was defeated by Theodotus and was sent to Rome in 263 (Trebell. Poll., *Gallien.* 4, 5; *Trig. Tyr.* 22).

Maximus, etc.] See § 6, where Eusebius is not mentioned. For him see 32. 5, note. The brother who came from Rome was apparently Marcellus (§ 6).

5 *Cephro*] See § 10, note.

6 *Faustus*] See §§ 23, note, 24.

Maximus] See 28. 3.

Chæremon] See § 24.

and verbally] Obviously some such words as "both in writing" have fallen out. It would seem that Æmilianus had communicated with Dionysius by letter and had an interview with him previous to the examination here recorded. Dionysius was probably examined about the same time as Cyprian (30 August 257).

with you] Throughout this examination the word "you" is plural. The prefect addresses Dionysius and his companions. Dionysius answers for all; and all were sent to Cephro.

10 *betake yourselves*] A deported person was not conveyed by force to the place of exile. He was simply ordered to go there, under penalty of death for disobedience.

Cephro] An insignificant place (§ 15), the position of which is not known except for the indications given here and in § 5.

It was clearly at a considerable distance from Alexandria (cp. §§ 12, 17) to the west.

11. 10 *And it shall in no wise be permitted*, etc.] Cp. the *Acta Proconsularia* of Cyprian's examination (Hartel, ii. p. cxi): "Paternus the proconsul said. . . . The emperors have commanded (*præceperunt*) also that meetings (*conciliabula*) be not held anywhere, and that the cemeteries be not entered. If anyone therefore do not obey this salutary command (*præceptum*), he shall be beheaded"; and "he ordered the blessed Cyprian the bishop to be deported into exile." The words in the text rendered "command," "meetings," "commanded" (κελεύσεως, συνόδους, ἐκέλευσα) may well be translations of *præceptum*, *conciliabula*, *præcepi*, in a Latin document—perhaps the letter to the prefect, on the basis of which the examination would be made, and which would be similar to, if not identical with, that to the proconsul of Africa.

12 *sojourned with us*] συνεπεδήμησεν ἡμῖν, implying a stay of some duration.

15 *the parts of Colluthion*] Situation unknown; probably a posting station not far from Alexandria.

17 *stay the night*] ἀναπαύσονται. This was not possible at Cephro, on account of its distance from the city. Cp. § 12, note.

sectional] *lit.* "in part," "partial." The meaning is that such of Dionysius' flock as lived in distant suburbs did not resort to the city church, but, as portions of the flock, had separate meetings for worship in their own neighbourhood.

18 *confiscations*, etc.] Implies that Dionysius had been wealthy and of high social position.

20 *to Domitius and Didymus*] See c. 20. This letter refers, not, as Eusebius supposed, to the persecution of Valerian, but to that of Decius. Those who were with him at Taposiris (vi. 40. 9) are mentioned as his companions in § 22, which in fact gives a short account of the incident of vi. 40. 4–9; while four of his fellow-confessors in 257 (§ 3) were in Alexandria when he wrote to Domitian and Didymus (§ 24). This error of Eusebius is curious, for he has just given extracts from the letter against Germanus (§§ 2–19), a careful reading of which would have set him right.

Only understand, etc.] A summary of vi. 41. 14–23. But there girl martyrs are not mentioned.

23 *Gaius and Peter*] Faustus and Paul had left him. Faustus had returned to Alexandria, if he is the Faustus of § 24; but that Faustus was a deacon, while the Faustus of §§ 22, 26 and vi. 40. 9 is not so described.

26 *Laodicea in Syria*] See 32. 5.

succeeded Dionysius] See 28. 3.

Faustus] See viii. 13, 7, where he is called a presbyter. The phrase, "that Faustus who along with him," etc., seems

to indicate that he was not the Faustus of § 24, who was in hiding at Alexandria. See § 23, note.

12. *Priscus*] Commemorated in the West with Malchus and Alexander on 28 March.

it is said] *φασί*. Eusebius is relying on local tradition.

a woman] Barely alluded to, since she was a heretic. Cp. v. 16. 21, note. The words "they relate" (*ἱστοροῦσιν*) and "it is recorded" (*κατέχει λόγος*) imply that, with regard to her martyrdom, Eusebius had documentary evidence.

13. *his son*] Gallienus. He became sole Augustus 260 or 261 (10. 2, note).

a rescript] Rufinus omits this chapter. The rescript definitely restored the churches and cemeteries to the Christians, and it implies the cessation of persecution, so far as the Emperor was concerned, and the recognition of the churches as bodies capable of holding property. But apparently Christianity was not given the position of a *religio licita*. If this had been done the martyrdom of Marinus (c. 15) could hardly have occurred.

Dionysius] This was possibly the Roman, not the Alexandrian, Dionysius. Eusebius, however, since he post-dated the death of Xystus (27. 1; cp. c. 14), must have supposed that the rescript was addressed to Dionysius of Alexandria.

the ordinance] *τύπῳ*. For *τύπος* in the sense of "ordinance" or "decree," found in late Greek, see *Oxyr. Pap.* vi. No. 893, and Grenfell and Hunt's note *ad loc.* The word is thus used twice in this chapter, and also in x. 5. 9.

long since] This may imply either that Gallienus was indulgent to the Christians before the disappearance of Valerian, or that he had announced the cessation of persecution at the beginning of his sole reign, but had not been able at once to give effect to it.

14. *Xystus was still ruling*] An error. See 27. 1, note.

the throne] Cp. c. 19; 32.29 and ii. 23, 1, note.

15. 1 *at peace*] Martyrdom was possible, especially in the case of soldiers, even in times of "peace," so long as Christianity was a *religio illicita*. Cp. c. 13, note. We know nothing about Marinus except what is here told. He is commemorated in the West on 3 March.

2 *the vine-switch*] The *vitis*, a centurion's staff, a vine branch. The Latin word is used also for the office of centurion.

16. *In that place*] Cæsarea.

fitting burial] Rufinus adds here that Astyrius was himself martyred; and accordingly he is commemorated on the same day as Marinus (3 March).

17. *source*] On the sources of the Jordan see Smith, pp. 471 ff.

18. 2 *a brazen figure*] Macarius Magnes (Crafer, p. 31) mentions this statue, but he says that the woman, Berenice or Veronica

by name, came from Edessa, and seems to imply that the image was in that place. For other contradictory references to it see Sozomen (*H.E.* v. 21), and Malalas (*Chron.* ed. L. Dindorf, p. 239), who saw it.

19. *from the Saviour and the apostles*] Eusebius seems to combine statements of Hegesippus (ii. 23, 4, note) and Clement of Alexandria (ii. 1, 2 f.; cp. ii, 23, 1).

20. *letters . . . mentioned*] The letters catalogued in vi. 44–46; vii. 2–9; not those quoted in cc. 10, 11, at least two of which are included among the festal letters (note, p. 250).

festal letters] Letters which were sent out by Dionysius, and subsequent bishops of Alexandria, announcing the date of Easter, and dealing with other matters of interest (Cass., *Coll.* x. 2; Ath., *Fest. lett.* x. 1). The festal letters of Dionysius quoted by Eusebius formed a separate volume, in which, as he supposed, the first seven were arranged in chronological order, beginning with three written under Valerian and extending year after year up to 264 (*Euseb.* 160–165, 169-174). Some of these letters gave information about the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, and accordingly they were quoted "by anticipation in the proper places" (cp. vi. 31. 3). Eusebius now turns once more to the festal letters to elucidate the history of the earlier years of the sole reign of Gallienus. Unfortunately, as we shall see (p. 250 ff.), his assumption as to their dates is incorrect, and some of them do not belong to the period under review. Eusebius's procedure in regard to them is similar to that which he adopted in the case of the baptismal letters (cc. 2–9). He gives the heading of each letter, with sometimes a description of its contents, and then some extracts, if any are found which suit his purpose.

To Flavius] See note, p. 250.

cycle of eight years] This cycle is lost. But it was constructed on the same false assumption as that of Hippolytus (vi. 22). Probably a fragment "of the second epistle" of Dionysius, printed by Feltoe (p. 90), belongs to this letter. If so, the letters in this volume, like those on baptism, were numbered. Cp. 21. 1, note.

and to others] This description has been taken to indicate two or more letters, one of which was addressed to the presbyters at Alexandria. But it seems more natural to interpret it as applying to a single letter of the nature of an encyclical. Cp. the epistle to "Hermammon and the brethren in Egypt" (22. 12). See note, p. 250 f.

the persecution] Obviously the persecution of Valerian.

21. 1 *at the festival of the Pascha*] Eusebius evidently dates this letter before the first Easter after the close of the persecution, *i.e.* 261. But see note, p. 252. A fragment of the "fourth festal epistle," printed by Feltoe (p. 91, E.T. p. 75), may well belong to it.

21. 2 *after this*] That is, before Easter 262 : the year following that in which the letter referred to in § 1 was written. But see note, p. 251.

Egypt] See vi. 41. 19, note.

the faction] The faction is not prominent in the extract, which deals rather with the pestilence which accompanied it. But §§ 3, 4, 6 refer to it, and there may have been more explicit mention of it in passages not quoted.

4 *harder to traverse*] The bishop would not be deterred from visiting his flock by a pestilence. It must have been continual warfare (§ 2) that made the street impassable.

6 *defiled with blood*, etc.] This implies warfare actually in progress. A pestilence would not make rivers run with blood.

7 *Gihon*] The river Gihon is identified with the Nile, according to the interpretation of Gen. ii. 13 which was usual in early times. See Theoph., *ad Autol.* ii. 24, where it is stated that Gihon waters the regions of the East, "compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia, and (as it is said) reappears in Egypt with the name of Nile"; and Otto's note thereon.

9 *constant plagues*] The pestilence which began in 250 (see p. 252) afflicted the empire at intervals for twenty years. See Benson, p. 242; Gregg, pp. 270–277.

food-ration] This implies that at Alexandria there was a distribution of food to all inhabitants between forty and seventy years of age : a fact of which there is no other evidence.

22. 1 *the brethren*] Apparently in Alexandria. Eusebius dates the letter in 263. But see note, p. 251.

4 *they drove us out*] This obviously refers to persecution, and most probably to that of Valerian. Cp. 11. 1, note.

7 *devoted servants*] περίψημα. This word was used, as were also κάθαρμα and φαρμακός, of "certain worthless persons, whom in case of plague, etc., the Athenians used to throw into the sea, in the belief that they would . . . wipe off the guilt of the nation,—saying, Be thou our περίψημα" (Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* κάθαρμα). In 1 Cor. iv. 13 it probably means nothing more than "refuse," but the idea of an "expiatory offering" is not absent in Ign. *Eph.* 8, where see Lightfoot's note. By the third century περίψημά σου had become, apparently, a common expression of formal compliment : "your humble and devoted servant." Thus might the Christians of whom Dionysius speaks truly describe themselves : their deaths were the salvation of those whom they tended.

11 *after this letter*] Before Easter 264.

11, 12 On the letters mentioned in these sections see note, p. 252.

23. 1 *He then*] Macrianus, who incited Valerian to persecute (10. 4) and attempted to dethrone Gallienus (10. 8).

disappeared] When Macrianus Junior and Quietus were proclaimed emperors (10. 8, note), the former set out with

his father for Italy. On the march they were met by Aureolus, and were defeated and slain. Quietus, who remained in the East, was besieged in Emesa by Odenathus King of Palmyra, the husband of Queen Zenobia (see 27. 1; 30. 19, notes), and perished in the capture of the city in 262.

23. 1 *after them*] Macrianus Junior and Quietus.

4 *once more to observe*] Does this mean that during the persecution Dionysius did not date his letters by regnal years? Cp. Introd. p. 38. It would seem that most of Dionysius' festival letters were undated (see note below).

seven years] The seventh year of Gallienus ended towards the close of 260, apparently a short time before the capture of Valerian. From that time to the destruction of the Macriani in his ninth year he was, to use Dionysius' metaphor, "under a cloud." The last words of the sentence are rather inconsequent. Possibly the quotation ends in the middle of a sentence. Dionysius may have written something like "let us keep the feast with joy, and thankfulness for the victory of Gallienus."

Note on the Festal Epistles of Dionysius.

Eusebius declares that the first three of these epistles were written during the persecution of Valerian (c. 20). Since the period of the persecution included three Easters, he would probably have dated them in the first quarter of 258, 259 and 260 respectively. But the second—the epistle to Domitius and Didymus—was certainly written, not under Valerian, but under Decius (11. 20, note), and when his persecution had been proceeding for a considerable time (11. 24, 25), *i.e.* in view of Easter 251. Thus it appears that Eusebius' opinion as to the chronology of this series of letters cannot be accepted without scrutiny.

Of the first letter—to Flavius—we know nothing but the title. Eusebius is no doubt right in supposing that it was despatched in time of persecution; but whether under Decius or Gallus or Valerian we cannot determine.

The third—"to his fellow-presbyters at Alexandria, and to others at the same time in different places"—is in a different position. It may be regarded with some probability as identical with the epistle against Germanus (vi. 40; vii. 11). In his account of Valerian (cc. 10. 11) Eusebius has used three documents, the epistle to Hermammon, the epistle against Germanus, and the epistle to Domitius and Didymus. The first (22. 12) and third of these he found in the volume which we are considering. We might naturally assume that the second was in the same volume. And the assumption is the more reasonable inasmuch as this letter is not mentioned in

any of the other lists of the writings of Dionysius given by Eusebius (vi. 46; vii. 2–9; 24; 26). But obviously the letter against Germanus cannot be identified with the first, second, fifth, eighth, ninth or tenth letters of the present series. There remain the third, fourth, sixth and seventh. But the fourth letter was written at Alexandria (21. 1), while the letter against Germanus was penned in a place of exile (vi. 40. 1); and Eusebius found nothing in the sixth and seventh letters which implied that they were written during a persecution, for he places them in the period of peace under Gallienus. Thus the only letter in the volume which can have been the defence of Dionysius is the third. It has been already maintained that it was addressed to a number of persons who were acquainted with the events of the persecutions at Alexandria (vi. 40. 1, note). That is in harmony with the title of the third festal epistle. Now, that the epistle against Germanus was written during the persecution of Valerian (vi. 40. 1, 2; vii. 11. 6, 8), and after that persecution had run a long course (vii. 11. 12–17), is certain. Harnack cannot be wrong in assigning it to "259 or immediately afterwards" (*Chron.* ii. 59). Eusebius's date for the third epistle—before Easter 260—is therefore probably correct.

We turn now to the sixth letter, addressed to "the brethren," from which quotations are made in 22. 1–10. Here we have a reference to three successive calamities which befell the Christians in three different years. The first was a persecution, in which banishment was the most prominent form of punishment, though some were put to death (§ 4). This suits the persecution of Valerian better than that of Decius (11. 1, note). The second was war and famine (§ 5), which apparently began before the persecution had completely ceased. For the war at Alexandria after the persecution of Valerian, see 11. 3, note, and for the famine which accompanied it, 32. 8. The third, which came after an interval of peace, was a terrible pestilence, still raging when the letter was written (§§ 2, 3, 6 ff.), which had continued for a considerable time. The letter may therefore with probability be assigned to the period before Easter in 262, or more probably (see below) 263. Eusebius seems to place it in the latter year. In favour of either of these dates is the fact that there was an outbreak of the plague, which overran at least Italy and Greece, in 262 (Clinton, *Fasti*, p. 288).

We consider next the fifth letter—that to Hierax—quoted in 21. 2–10. Eusebius puts it before Easter 262. In doing so he seems to be guided in part by the sixth letter, supposing that the second calamity mentioned therein (22. 5)—war and famine—was touched upon in it. At all events he says that the epistle to Hierax "mentions the faction" (21. 2). But in fact the extract which he gives in proof of that statement barely

alludes to the war, and is mainly occupied with a pestilence. It is clear that with the war there was an outbreak of the plague. Now the sixth letter makes it quite plain that there was no pestilence in Alexandria between 260 and the time at which it was written. The fifth letter therefore cannot have been penned between 260 and 262 (263). We may further assume that Eusebius found nothing in it to justify the opinion that it belonged to a period of persecution which involved Alexandria. We may place it before the persecution of 249 (vi. 41. 1), or after 262 (263), or between 251 and 257. But it can hardly have been written early in 253, for the persecution of Gallus—of which Eusebius gives us no details (vii. 1.)—can scarcely have spent itself so soon (Gregg, p. 274). The most probable year is 252. The great mortality began in Ethiopia under Decius (autumn of 250?). Alexandria was probably the first city which it visited (Zonaras, xii. 21; Cedrenus, ed. Bonne, i, 452). It reached Carthage in 252 (Benson, p. 241). St. Jerome in his translation of the *Chronicle* (p. 301) dates the plague in the first year of Gallus (252), referring to Dionysius as his authority. He had probably in view our fifth epistle.

The state of affairs at Alexandria disclosed in the fifth letter is closely similar to that which prevailed at the moment when the fourth—to the brethren in Alexandria—was written; and it appears to have been described by Dionysius in nearly the same terms in the two epistles (cp. Eusebius' paraphrase of letter 4 in 21. 1, *ὥσπερ τις ὑπερόριος ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῖς ὡμίλει*, with letter 5 in 21. 3, *ἐπιστολιμαίων δέομαι γραμμάτων . . . ῥᾷον γὰρ ἄν τις οὐχ ὅπως εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν . . . ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπέλθοι*). We can hardly avoid the conclusion that they were penned almost at the same time, though Eusebius implies that they were separated by a year.

Eusebius dates the seventh letter, to the brethren in Egypt, in a period of peace subsequent to the sixth—*i.e.* before Easter 264 (22. 11; 28. 3, note). We cannot rely on his statement, and we have no means of checking it. He does not date the eighth letter (On the Sabbath) nor the ninth (On Exercise). Nothing remains of the former, and the single existing fragment of the latter (Feltoe, p. 256) has no note of date. We cannot even be absolutely certain that either of these was a festal letter. The tenth—to Hermammon and the brethren in Egypt)—was undoubtedly a festal letter, and Dionysius himself tells us that it was written in the ninth year of Gallienus (23. 4), *i.e.* before Easter 262. If the conclusions reached above are correct, it may therefore be a companion of the sixth letter. But its exultant language (vii. 1; 10. 2–9, and especially 23. 1–4) is in strange contrast to that melancholy epistle. The contrast is perhaps explained by the

fact that it is addressed to the Egyptians, who had not shared the calamities of the Alexandrians, and by the circumstance that, as it seems, the destruction of the Macriani had been accomplished immediately before it was written—an event which presaged immunity from persecution. But the difficulty remains that it is hard to imagine that two letters so different in tone could have been written within a week or two of each other. Hence it may be suggested that the interval of rest mentioned in the sixth epistle (22. 6) began before Easter 262, and included the festival, in view of which the tenth epistle was penned. On that hypothesis the date of the sixth epistle will be the beginning of 263.

Thus such of the Festal Letters of Dionysius as supply chronological data may be dated as follows :

2. To Domitius and Didymus, 251.
3. To the presbyters of Alexandria against Germanus, 260.
4. To the brethren in Alexandria, 252 (?).
5. To Hierax, 252 (?).
6. To the brethren, 263 (or 262).
10. To Hermammon and the brethren in Egypt, 262.

24. 1 *On Promises*] The date of this work cannot be fixed (Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 60 : but see Dittrich, p. 69, note 2, where the controversy is dated 254–5). Three insignificant fragments (Feltoe, p. 125 f.) are all that remain of it, apart from Eusebius' quotations.

those in Egypt] See vi. 41. 19, note. Nepos was probably the bishop of Arsinoe (§ 6).

4 *gone to his rest*] The phrase " till this day " in the previous clause seems to imply that his death was not recent.

truth is dear, etc.] Cp. Plato, *Repub.* x. 1 (quoted iv. 16. 6, note).

6 *nome of Arsinoe*] Now represented by the Fayyum.

9 *as to the rest*] The sentence is incomplete. The latter part of it must have intimated that there were some who did not follow Coracion in his change of opinion.

25. 1 *before our time*] He seems to refer to Gaius, whose account of Cerinthus (iii. 28. 2) is in substantial agreement with the present passage and has several coincidences of phrase with it.

rejected . . . impugned] The language is that of literary criticism, denoting that the critics in question decided against the genuineness of the Apocalypse and its right to a place in the Scriptures, and also impugned its truth and value. See F. H. Colson in *J.T.S.* xxv. 365 ff.

2 *but Cerinthus*, etc.] Quoted above, iii. 28. 4 f.

4 *deeper meaning*] It admits only of an allegorical interpretation. Cp. § 6.

6 *and indeed himself*] A misinterpretation. Dionysius wrongly connects " and I John " with the preceding sentence.

7 *the Catholic Epistle*] 1 John, so called because it was not addressed to a single community or to an individual. Dionysius does not by this phrase cast doubt on the authority of 2 and 3 John (§ 11). He merely distinguishes the first epistle from the other two, as having a different character and purpose.

9 *but John nowhere*] There is no verb. Evidently the extract begins in the middle of a sentence, the former part of which made some such statement as "the Apocalyptist mentions himself by name."

16 *in Asia*] It is assumed that the writer of the Apocalypse (as well as the evangelist) lived in Asia. Cp. § 16. The argument obviously does not prove that John Mark did not spend part of his life at Ephesus.

it is said] Cp. iii. 39. 6, note.

21 *darkness*] σκότους. St. John's more usual word is σκοτία; but see John iii. 19; 1 John i. 6. "Turning from darkness" is not a Johannine phrase. But cp. Acts xxvi. 18.

the grace] Dionysius makes a slip here: "The word *grace* is very rare in St. John" (Westcott on 3 John 4). It does not occur in 1 John, and it is found in Rev. i. 4; xxii. 21.

forgiveness of sins] τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. This exact phrase does not occur in any of the Johannine writings.

25 *barbarous word, or solecism*] The phrase "barbarous word" signifies an error in a single word; "solecism" signifies an error in combining words.

26. 1 *against Sabellius*] Dionysius's controversy with the Sabellians began at least as early as the time of Pope Xystus II (257–8), as we learn from c. 6. The "letters" mentioned there may be one or more of the three or four epistles referred to in the first sentence of this section. They were addressed to Ammon, bishop of Bernice, one of the five cities of the Pentapolis (see c. 6, note), and three others who may have been bishops of other cities in the same district, though they are not so described. Certain passages in these letters were regarded as heretical, and complaints were made of them to Pope Dionysius. He held a synod, and subsequently wrote a letter to Dionysius of Alexandria. In reply the latter composed his *Refutation and Defence*, the "four other treatises" here mentioned. Considerable fragments are still extant of the letter of the Pope and of the book of his Alexandrian namesake, which have been collected by Feltoe (pp. 165–198). He has also translated some of the fragments of the *Refutation and Defence* (E.T. pp. 101–107).

2 *On Nature*] Against the Epicureans. The fragments preserved in Eus. *Præp. Ev.* xiv. 23–27, and four others of inconsiderable length, have been edited by Feltoe (pp. 127–163; E.T. pp. 91–101). See further Bardenhewer ii. 208 ff.

26. 2 *Timothy*] See vi. 40. 4.

his boy] τῷ παιδί. See vi. 40. 3, note.

on Temptations] Lost. For Euphranor see § 1.

3 *to Basilides*] An epistle to Basilides is extant, and has been edited by Feltoe (pp. 91–105; E.T. 76–81). Since it makes no reference to the commentary on Ecclesiastes, it is probably one of the "other letters" referred to in the text.

bishop of the communities] *i.e.* metropolitan. He was not the only bishop in the Pentapolis (§ 1). Cp. v. 23. 3, note.

exposition of the beginning of Ecclesiastes] Notes on Eccl. i–iv, attributed to Dionysius, are printed by Feltoe (pp. 208–227).

our own generation] According to Eusebius' chronology (see 27. 1, and first note) his "own generation" began about A.D. 266. Other evidence indicates that he was born not much later than 260 (Introd. p. 1).

27. 1 *eleven years*] Xystus II was bishop from August or September 257 to 6 August 258, when, as Cyprian tells us (*Ep.* 80) he suffered martyrdom. Eusebius has mistaken "eleven months" in his list of popes for "eleven years." According to him the sum of the episcopates of Cornelius (3 years, apparently reckoned from the death of Fabian, Jan. 250), Lucius (8 months), Stephen (2 years) and Xystus (11 years: see c. 2; 5. 3) is 16 years and 8 months. Thus the accession of Pope Dionysius is brought down to the end of 266, after the death of his Alexandrian namesake (28. 3), though the two Dionysii corresponded with each other (9. 6; 26. 1)! Eusebius no doubt was unaware that the Roman see was vacant for nearly two years (6 August 258–22 July 260) before the election of Dionysius.

Paul of Samosata received the bishopric] In the *Chronicle* (p. 302 f.) Eusebius dates the episcopate of Paul 260–267. But in the *History* he seems to have used a source which indicated that it was nearly synchronous with that of Dionysius of Rome. Accordingly, having dated the accession of Dionysius eight or nine years too late, he here places the beginning of Paul's episcopate in the last year or so of Gallienus. The true date may be fixed thus. There is warrant for the belief that Paul's episcopate lasted eight years (Harnack, *Chron.* i. 215). He was deposed not later than 268 (30. 1, note), and he was probably appointed by the influence of Zenobia (whose creature he was, according to Ath., *Arian.* 71) after Antioch fell into the hands of her husband Odenathus in 260. Hence his term of office was 260–268. Since Dionysius of Rome was bishop 22 July 260 to 26 December 268, Eusebius' synchronism is correct, though his dates are wrong. Cp. Bardy, 164, 174 f.; Loofs, 51 f. Loofs rejects the assumption that Paul owed his appointment as bishop to Zenobia.

27. 2 *an ordinary man*] This is the only account which Eusebius gives of the doctrine of Paul. For an attempt to reconstruct the teaching of the heresiarch from his own statements see *J.T.S.* xix. 20–45, 115–120. The results are summarized in the *E.R.E.* xi. 170 f. For a further collection of the sayings of Paul see Bardy, 305 ff.

the synod] No synod has been mentioned. Similarly in vi. 46. 3 " the synod at Antioch " is referred to without explanation. These passages suggest that at this period there was in Antioch a perpetual synod, somewhat resembling the " home synod " of a later date in Constantinople. It seems to have consisted of such bishops of neighbouring cities and provinces as might be in Antioch, together with a smaller number of priests and deacons. The bishop of Antioch does not seem to have been the normal president (vi. 46. 3; cp. below, 30. 2). In circumstances of exceptional difficulty bishops from distant churches were invited to take part in its deliberations, though the decrees actually ran in the name of the local members (vi. 46. 3; vii. 30. 3). This hypothesis clears up some difficulties to which attention will be called in the following notes.

was invited] παρακληθείς. This word is used also in vi. 46. 3, vii. 30. 3 for the invitation of distant bishops to the synod. A different word occurs in 32. 21 for the summons of a neighbouring bishop. But see 30. 5.

by letter] See 30. 3.

28. 1 *Firmilian*] This eminent person was probably born shortly before 200. He was bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and had attained distinction early in the second quarter of the third century (vi. 27), and attended the synod of Iconium *c.* 230, which dealt with the Montanist schism (7. 5, note). Not long afterwards he visited Origen at Cæsarea in Palestine; and for some years Origen stayed in his diocese (vi. 27 and note). He took part in the Novatianist controversy at Antioch about 252 (vi. 46. 3). He was a strong supporter of Cyprian in the baptismal controversy. Cyprian wrote to him on the subject, and his only extant literary work is his reply to Cyprian's letter (Cyp., *Ep.* 75, autumn 256). He had an influential part in the proceedings against Paul of Samosata, and died at Tarsus on his way to the " final synod " in 268 (30. 4, 5).

Gregory and Athenodore] See vi. 30.

nor must we omit] The five previously mentioned were bishops of Asia Minor, the following three came from the south.

this neighbouring church] Eusebius was evidently writing at Cæsarea.

presbyters and deacons] See 27. 2; 30. 2, notes.

2 *on different occasions*] This shows that the synod was a

fluctuating body, and that it remained in being at least for a considerable time. Cp. 27. 2, note. The proceedings in fact seem to have continued for more than five years; for they began before Eusebius became bishop of Laodicea, and were not concluded when he died (32. 5, see note, 21). In fact they were in progress before the death of Dionysius (264; note, p. 264), and only ended with the expulsion of Paul (272; 30. 19, note).

28. 3 *Dionysius died*] Probably about October 264. See note, p. 264.

twelfth year] That is, from the beginning of his joint reign with Valerian (10. 1, note).

4 *Gallienus*] Murdered 20 March 268.

Claudius was appointed] This statement taken with the next sentence is evidence against the story (Gibbon, i. 284) that Gallienus nominated him before his death. Marcus Aurelius Claudius died early in 270.

gave over] Literally true. On his death-bed he commended Aurelian to his generals (Gibbon, i. 290).

Aurelian] Lucius Domitius Aurelianus.

29. 1 *final synod*] The word "synod" does not seem to be used here in the same sense as in 27. 2. It means here a meeting (cp. 28. 2; 30. 9), a session of "the synod." This session was "final," because it gave the final sentence against Paul. It is not necessary to suppose that the synod no longer concerned itself with him (30. 19). Eusebius, influenced, no doubt, by his false chronology of the popes (27. 1, note), errs in placing the final synod under Aurelian (30. 1).

exceedingly large number of bishops] Seventy according to Athanasius (*De Syn.* 43), eighty according to Hilary of Poitiers (*De Syn.* 86), voted for his deposition.

2 *we know to be extant*] Apparently Eusebius had not seen it. For the existing fragments see Routh, *R.S.* iii, 300–302; *J.T.S.* xix. pp. 20 ff., 115 ff.

30. 1 *Dionysius*] He died 26 December 268. Thus the letter must have been despatched at the latest early in 269, before the report of his death reached Antioch. The "final synod" therefore took place not later than 268—probably under Claudius. See further Loofs, pp. 45–50.

Maximus] See 28. 3.

2 *Helenus*, etc.] Helenus presided, as on a former occasion (vi. 46. 3). Of the first nine whose names immediately follow, the first, third, fourth, and sixth are mentioned in 28. 1 as bishops, while the first five and the ninth are the six bishops who presented a statement of belief to Paul, demanding his acceptance of it (Routh, *R.S.* iii. 289). Malchion was probably the presbyter of 29. 2, who is said by Jerome (*V.I.* 71; cp. *J.T.S.* xix. p. 30) to have drawn up the letter. Thus the encyclical of the synod was issued by sixteen members, at

least ten of whom were bishops and apparently at least two of lower rank. Since a much larger number had condemned Paul (29. 1), it would seem that the letter was composed after the majority who had attended the "final synod" had left Antioch: for the alternative hypotheses suggested by Bardy (p. 222) are less probable. But "the synod" was still in being. Cp. 28. 2, notes.

30. 3 *we wrote inviting*] ἐπεστέλλομεν . . . . . παρεκαλοῦμεν. Cp. 27. 2. The imperf. tense is to be noted. The letters were sent from time to time, as the discussions proceeded.

4 *came twice*] Not, as is often assumed, to two separate synods. He was present at "the synod" on two occasions. Cp. 28. 2.

he was deceived] It is probable that, when Paul was found to be playing false, the manifesto of the six bishops (§ 2, note) was presented to him. For the moment, on the hypothesis suggested above (28. 2, note), "the synod" had dwindled to a small number.

8 *ducenarius*] An official who had a salary of 200 sestertii. Paul may have been a procurator of the highest rank (*procurator ducenarius*) under Odenathus and Zenobia. Those of the second rank had salaries of 100 sestertii, those of the third 60 (Marquardt-Mommsen, iii. 564).

9 *assemblies*] συνόδοις. Evidently assemblies for worship. Cp. 11. 10.

secretum] Private chamber, secretarium.

the interpreters] Paul probably adopted the principles of biblical exegesis of the school of Lucian (ix. 6. 3).

10 *psalms*] Cp. v. 28. 5; vii. 24. 4.

the bishops . . . the presbyters] Evidently Paul had a very large following, in spite of the unanimity of the synod (§ 2).

12 *subintroductæ*] συνεισάκτους γυναῖκας. See Gebhardt-Harnack, *Pat. Apost. Opera* iii. 216 f.; Bingham, vi. 2. 13.

16 *Artemas*] Cp. v. 28. 1, where the same person is called Artemon. The statement that Paul's doctrine was derived from Artemas is probably correct: see *J.T.S.* xix. p. 43 ff.

17 *Demetrian*] Paul's predecessor. See vi. 46. 4; vii. 27. 1.

write to Artemas] Who seems to have been still alive. Yet his heresy had come into existence at least sixty years before (v. 28. 1, 7).

19 *the church-building*] Or "the house of the assembly." Probably the church itself. See viii. 13. 13; ix. 9a. 11. Cp. viii. 17. 9.

on being petitioned] The quarrel was one which Aurelian could not ignore once it was formerly brought under his notice. Gallienus had ordered that the churches should be restored to the Christians as a corporate body (c. 13), and his ordinance was still law. The civil court was therefore bound to decide whether Domnus or Paul had a right to hold "the church-building" in the name of the Christian body at Antioch.

Aurelian's intervention, accordingly, does not prove that he was favourable to the Church; it merely shows that up to 272 he had not withdrawn the concession of Gallienus. That he had kindly feelings towards the Christians at any time is in fact improbable (Aubé, iv. 462–466).

30. 19 *driven . . . from the church*] Clearly in 272, when Aurelian was at Antioch. Paul had been able to maintain his position against the synod for four years in virtue of the office which he held under Zenobia (§ 8), and possibly with her active support. In this year she was defeated in two battles, one near Antioch, and the other near Emesa; and was captured and sent to Rome. We hear no more of Paul after this; but the sect of the Paulianists continued to exist: see *E.R.E.*, xi. 172.

20 *he changed his mind*] This seems to be an error. See § 19, second note.

21 *one might almost say*] According to Lactantius (*Mort.* 6. 2) his letters had been issued, but had not reached the more distant provinces. But Eusebius' repeated statement (see viii. 4) that Aurelian did not persecute, though rumours of his intention to do so were rife, must be accepted. Nevertheless his persecution is counted the ninth by later historians, and the martyrologists assign many martyrdoms to his reign (Aubé, iv. 469–485).

the divine Justice] His assassination (§ 22, note).

22 *six years*] March 270–*c.* 29 August 275. Aurelian was murdered in Thrace. His successor, Marcus Claudius Tacitus, was apparently elected by the Senate on 25 September 275 (Gibbon, i. 316), and died on 12 April 276. After him his brother Florianus reigned for a couple of months (*ib.* 319 ff.). Eusebius does not mention the last two emperors, and seems to include their terms of office in the reign of Aurelian.

the same number of years] Marcus Aurelius Probus reigned from *c.* July 276 to September (?) 282 (Gibbon, i. 337).

Carus with his sons] Marcus Aurelius Carus died before 29 August 283 (Gibbon, i. 341). Caius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus was elected emperor 17 September 284, shortly after the death of Numerianus, and a few months later defeated Carinus, who was slain by one of his own officers.

23 *nine years*] 22 July 260–26 December 268. Eusebius apparently dates the death of Dionysius about 275 (27. 1, note); but even on that assumption it is scarcely accurate to describe the accession of Felix as "a short time before" the persecution of 303. For a similar laxity of language see vi. 2. 2.

31. 1 *The madman*] ὁ μανείς, Mani, whose name is written in Greek Μάνης. The similarity of the words μανείς and Μάνης, which have no etymological relation to each other, gives occasion to much punning, such as Eusebius permits

himself in this chapter. Mani was born about 216. It is said that at an early age he claimed to have received divine revelations. He began his public preaching at Ctesiphon on the accession of the Persian King Shapur I, 20 March 242, and was put to death by Bahram I about 275. The best account of his system will be found in F. C. Burkitt's *The Religion of the Manichees*, 1925. Dr. Burkitt makes use of sources of information recently made known, especially many fragments of Manichæan MSS. lately discovered in Chinese Turkestan, in which for the first time "we hear Manichees speaking for themselves and not through the reports of adversaries." See also S. A. Cook in *J.T.S.* xxvi. 382–390.

31. 1 *heresy*] This word implies that Manichæism was an offshoot of Christianity; and in spite of statements of many modern scholars, Eusebius seems to be correct in so describing it. Burkitt shows that Mani based his doctrine on Christian teaching, and that "its Christian parts" are "the living kernel of the Manichæan system" (Burkitt, p. 14; cp. pp. 38 f., 42 f., 65–67, 86 ff.). Manichæism, notwithstanding its startling deviations from orthodox Christianity, has as good a right to be called "Christian" as the Gnostic "heresies" which Irenæus refutes.

His very speech] Mani wrote in Syriac and Persian (Burkitt, p. 74).

pose as Christ] There seems to be no evidence for this charge.

he was the Paraclete] That Mani claimed to be "the Paraclete" is certain (Burkitt, p. 94), but that he identified the Paraclete with the Holy Spirit is more than doubtful.

twelve disciples] St. Augustine, who in early life had been a Manichæan, makes the same statement. He adds that in his time the successors of the "disciples" were known as the twelve "teachers (magistri)," and that they consecrated the bishops of the sect (Aug. *Hær.* 46).

2 *he stitched together*] "In some points Mani displayed a boldness and originality of conception which entitle him to be regarded as a genius of the first order. To represent his system as a mere patch-work of older beliefs is therefore a total perversion of the facts" (Bevan, in *E.R.E.* viii. 400). No doubt Eusebius gives a wrong impression. But, according to Burkitt, Manichæism is a synthesis (p. 71): the main principle of the cosmogony of Mani was derived from Bardaisan (p. 78), while his moral and social teaching comes from Marcion (p. 79 f.). Only, as Burkitt also tells us, Mani re-moulded what he borrowed. It may be added that Eusebius probably drew his bow at a venture. For he seems to have known little about Bardaisan (iv. 30), and if he knew more about Marcion he hides his knowledge (Introd., p. 29).

32. 1 For the dates of the bishops here mentioned see Introd.,

p. 46. According to Eusebius (Introd., p. 42) the terms of the first three were: Felix, 5 years; Eutychianus, not 10 months (years mistaken for months); Gaius, 15 years (xii misread as xu). The sum of these terms is 21 years, which being added to Eusebius' date for the death of Dionysius (275: see 27. 1; 30. 23, notes) gives 296 for the accession of Marcellinus. Thus Eusebius' mistakes in the Papal chronology cancel each other, and his date for the accession of Marcellinus is correct. Marcellinus is the last pope mentioned by Eusebius (but see x. 5. 18).

32. 1 *has overtaken*] This phrase seems to imply that Marcellinus was still pope. But his term of office ended in 304, and his second successor, Eusebius, died before 2 July 310 (Introd., p. 46), when, it would seem, this chapter was not yet penned (*ib.* p. 6 f.).

2 *Dorotheus*] We know nothing more of him than is told here, for he can hardly be the Dorotheus of viii. 1. 4; 6. 5. He was not improbably a fellow-worker with Lucian at Antioch (ix. 6. 3, note).

4 *the church*] At Antioch (§ 2).

at its height] This notice suggests that Cyril's episcopate ended about the beginning of the persecution of Diocletian (303). The date, which is not unimportant, can be fixed more exactly. In the Passion of the *Quatuor Coronati* (*AA.SS.* Nov., iii. 769 ff.) mention is made of a bishop, named Cyril, who had been banished from Antioch, and was then (306) in Pannonia, having been in bonds for three years for the name of Christ. This must be the Cyril of the text. He died of grief when he heard of the martyrdom of the Four (8 November). The inference is that he was banished from his see under the first or second edict of Diocletian (viii. 2. 4; 6. 8) in 303 and died in 306. Tyrannus was probably appointed in the former year; for Eusebius, in his *Chronicle* (p. 309), dates his accession in 18 Diocletian (302). See Mason, p. 263; Allard, ii. 26 f.

5 *Laodicea*] In Syria (11. 26).

Eusebius] A deacon who had visited the confessors in Alexandria in the Decian persecution (11. 24) and shared the sufferings of Dionysius under Valerian (11. 3). He was bishop according to the *Chronicle* (pp. 304, 305) from 273 to 278. But since he died before the proceedings against Paul of Samosata had concluded (§ 21), these dates are much too late. He was appointed bishop on his way to Alexandria from the synod of Antioch, which must have been then engaged in the matter of Paul for some time. Assuming, then, that the *Chronicle* is right as to the length of his episcopate, we may date it *c.* 264–269. Before it, and therefore between 260 and 264, we may place his efforts to relieve those who were besieged in the Pyrucheum (§ 8 ff.).

32. 6 *Aristotelian tradition*] It is remarkable to find an Alexandrian Christian founding an Aristotelian School in his own city, the special home of Platonism—and that not long after the death of Dionysius and Origen. It is also remarkable that his fellow-citizens—most of whom, no doubt, were pagans—elected him principal of the school. See Cabrol, vii. 1132.

7 *Pyrucheum*] The Greek quarter of Alexandria, in which were the most important buildings. The siege was between 260 and 264 (see § 5, note); it probably occurred in the revolution of Æmilianus in 261 (11. 3, note, and note p. 251). It would seem that he held the Pyrucheum against Gallienus' general.

8 *the Roman general*] Theodotus? (11. 3, note.)

12 *left the city*] Anatolius may have found it expedient to leave Alexandria as being suspected of complicity with Æmilianus. Eusebius was probably sent by Dionysius (§ 5) with his letter to the church of Antioch (27. 2; 30. 3).

13 *Canons of Anatolius*] The Paschal Table of Anatolius was an advance on that of Dionysius (c. 20), who, like Hippolytus (vi. 22, note), took as his basis an eight-year cycle. Anatolius adopted the more correct cycle of nineteen years. But he put the equinox on 19 March instead of 21 March (§ 15). In agreement with Dionysius he insists that the paschal moon is *after* the equinox. Hippolytus, if he also assumed that 19 March was the equinox, differed from them in regarding the full moon which fell on the previous day as the Paschal moon. A Latin treatise, *De ratione paschali*, attributed to Anatolius (*P.G.* x. 209), is not genuine.

14 *eleventh before the Kalends*] *i.e.* 22 March.

15 *in the fourth day*] Hence the equinox is on 19 March.

16 *Philo*] See ii. 4. 2, note.

Josephus] See iii. 9. 1, note.

Musæus . . . the two Agathobuli] Nothing appears to be known of these persons.

Aristobulus the great] See vi. 13. 7, note. Anatolius seems to be wrong in placing him in the reigns of Ptolemy son of Lagus and Ptolemy Philadelphus.

20 *Introductions to Arithmetic*] Harnack (*Chron.* ii. 79) thinks the fragments of this work printed in *P.G.* x. 231 may be genuine. See further Bardenhewer, ii. 228.

21 *both presided*] Cp. vi. 11. 1, note.

the synod . . . summoning him] καλούσης. See 27. 2, notes.

23 *Theodotus*] A notable Arian, to whom Eusebius dedicated his *Præp. Ev.* and *Dem. Ev.* He and Eusebius himself were condemned with Arius by Alexander bishop of Alexandria (Theodoret, *H.E.* i. 5). Theodotus had a long episcopate; and was present at the Council of Seleucia in 359 (Athanasius, *De Syn.* i. 12). See *D.C.B.* iv. 981.

his own name] Theodotus, "God-given."

32. 24 *Agapius*] From this passage we may gather that Agapius was no longer bishop when Eusebius wrote: note the expressions "to have laboured" (καμεῖν) and "in his day" (κατὰ τοῦτον, § 25). Moreover, the eulogy pronounced upon him makes no reference to his bearing during the persecution. In fact, the church of Cæsarea is the only one in this chapter whose succession is not completed by the mention of the bishop who was in office when that calamity occurred (see §§ 1, 4, 22 f., 29, 31). The obvious inference is that Agapius died before the trial came, and that for some reason Eusebius thought it well not to name his successor. It is remarkable that no allusion is made to the bishop of Cæsarea in books viii, ix or *M.P.* In *M.P.* 1. 3 it is rulers of churches in the country parts who in that city are stedfast under torture. Is it possible that the successor of Agapius failed in the conflict, and was therefore committed to oblivion by the historian who succeeded him in the see?

25 *Pamphilus*] See *M.P.* 11. 1, note.

26 *Pierius*] Apart from this notice the principal authorities for Pierius are Jerome, *V.I.* 76, Photius, 118 f., and excerpts from Philip of Side (*T.U.* v. 2, p. 170 f.). He was a presbyter at Alexandria under Carus (282–3), and suffered as a confessor, with his brother Isidore, in the persecution of Diocletian. After the persecution he went to Rome, and spent the remainder of his life there. He is said by Photius to have been principal of the Catechetical School; but this is doubtful (§ 30, note). Yet his statement that he was a teacher of Pamphilus is probably correct: see Introd., p. 16, and *M.P.* 11, 1, note. He appears to have been a voluminous writer, but none of his works have survived. In one of the excerpts from Philip he is credited with having written a book on Pamphilus, in which "he gave help in the divine scripture." But this again is questionable. The excerptor has made several mistakes; and in this case we may surmise that what Philip actually said was that Pierius was mentioned in Eusebius' Life of Pamphilus (*M.P.* 11. 3) as having done good work on the biblical text. That he did work of this kind is evident from a note of St. Jerome on Matt. xxiv. 36. See further Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 66 ff.; Bardenhewer, ii. 234 ff.

Meletius] See *D.C.B.* iii. 890. His sobriquet "the honey (μέλι) of Attica" is a pun on his name. He was *metropolitan*, not sole bishop, of Pontus. Cp. v. 23. 3, and note. His see is said to have been Sebastopol (Philostorgius, i. 8).

29 *apostolic throne*] Cp. ii. 23. 1, note.

30 *eighteen years*] Apparently October 264 to 282. See note, p. 265.

Achillas] He succeeded Peter (§ 31) as bishop of Alexandria.

the school of the sacred faith] τῆς ἱερᾶς πίστεως τὸ διδασκαλεῖον.

That is, the Catechetical School, which in v. 10. 1 is called ἡ τῶν πιστῶν διατριβή and διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων. Hence it is stated here that Achillas was the principal of the school. We may infer that Pierius, who is mentioned in the context without any such title, did not hold that office (cp. 26, note).

32. 31 *nineteen years*] 282–*c.* October 300. See note, below.

twelve entire years] From the statement which follows—that Peter succeeded less than three years before the persecution began, and died *in* its ninth year—a reader might infer that his episcopate lasted *less* than twelve years. The seeming discrepancy, indeed, disappears when we remember that in the chronological scheme of *M.P.*, the ninth year of the persecution corresponded to the Julian year, A.D. 312 (Introd., p. 38 f.). But it is unlikely that Eusebius wrote at one sitting a passage so apparently self-contradictory. We may suspect that it was altered from its original form by insertions in a later edition (Introd., pp. 3, 5). If we suppose that Peter's episcopate lasted from about October 300 to November 312 (ix. 6. 2, note), and that the persecution began about April 303 (viii. 2. 4, note), all the statements of the text are satisfied.

the churches] The church of Alexandria and other churches within his metropolitan jurisdiction. Cp. ix. 6. 2, note.

was beheaded] Cp. viii. 13. 7; ix. 6. 2, note.

Note on the Dates of the Bishops of Alexandria in the Third Century.

It is evident that Eusebius had access to a list (or lists) of Alexandrian bishops which indicated their terms of office, and in some instances their dates. The following table of the third-century bishops is compiled from his statements.

	Accession.	Term.	
Demetrius . . .	10 Commodus 189–190	43	v. 22
Heraclas . . .	— *c.* 233	16	vi. 26
Dionysius . . .	3 Philip 246–7	17	vi. 35
Maximus . . .	12 Gallienus 264–5	18	vii. 28. 3
Theonas . . .	— —	19	vii. 32. 30
Peter . . .	— *c.* Oct. 300 (died *c.* Nov. 312)	12	vii. 32. 31

Here we have a succession of six bishops in the period which began not earlier than September 189, and ended at November 312—*i.e.* in 123 years—if we accept the dates given by Eusebius. But the sum of the terms of office, according to the same authority, is 125 years. The discrepancy is not great, but it may be well to scrutinize the figures.

Let us note, in the first place, that the dates of Demetrius are at least credible. The term number implies that he survived at least to September 232, but probably not many months after September 233. Eusebius may not have known the exact date of his death, for concerning it he merely makes the vague remark that it was not long after Origen's departure from Alexandria (231–2). The interval, nevertheless, seems to have been considerable; for when Origen had settled at Cæsarea after long journeying, the denunciations of the bishop still followed him (note, p. 218 and vi. 23. 4, note). Thus all the evidence points to 233 as the year of Demetrius' death.

Again, the dates of Peter's episcopate are trustworthy. Eusebius must have had evidence about them quite apart from episcopal lists. He seems to have spent a considerable time in Egypt while Peter was bishop of Alexandria (viii. 9. 4, note), and he may have known him personally.

With almost equal confidence we may accept the dates given for Dionysius. Eusebius would have taken trouble to ascertain the facts about one whom he so much admired as the "great" bishop (vii. Pref.), and the numerous letters of Dionysius which he had read may well have supplied him with material. The terminal number moreover is consistent with his dates if we suppose that he began his episcopate near the end of one regnal year, and ended it early in another: in other words that he was bishop from about August 247 to about October 264. Eusebius does not here take account of fractions of years.

On these assumptions we must hold that the terminal number of either Maximus or Theonas is wrong, for 18 + 19 = 37, and the period from October 264 to October 300 is only 36 years. But the error is easily explained on the principle that months were disregarded.

On the other hand the terminal number of Heraclas cannot be reconciled with the dates of his accession and death given above. And we have surer guarantee of their accuracy than of that of the terminal numbers. We suggest, therefore, that Eusebius wrote in error 16 for 14 or 15.

Accordingly the dates of accession of the six bishops with whom we are concerned are probably as follows:

Demetrius . .	190
Heraclas . .	233
Dionysius . .	*c.* August 247
Maximus . .	*c.* October 264
Theonas . .	282
Peter . . .	*c.* October 300

BOOK VIII.

Note on the Emperors from 286 to 325.

The account which is given in Books viii–x of the Great Persecution, and its aftermath, cannot be understood without some knowledge of the new constitution which Diocletian imposed upon the Empire, and its speedy collapse, of which, naturally enough, Eusebius gives no full account. After the murder of Carinus early in 285 Caius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus was sole emperor (vii. 30. 22, note). But he perceived that the Empire was too vast to be governed and defended by one man. Accordingly he made Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus (usually known as Maximian) Co-Augustus 1 April 286. Seven years later (1 March 293) he took a further step. Each of the Augusti was given a subordinate colleague with the title of Cæsar. Diocletian associated with himself Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus (whom we shall call Galerius, though he is often styled Maximian II); with Maximian was associated Marcus Flavius Valerius Constantius. Thus there were now four emperors. Each had a territory over which he ruled, and which it was his duty to defend against attack. The order of rank amongst the emperors was strictly observed, Diocletian being first, Maximian second, Constantius third and Galerius fourth. Diocletian presided over the dioceses of Pontus and the East, including Egypt, his capital being Nicomedia; Maximian, with his capital at Milan, ruled Italy, Africa and probably Spain; Constantius from Trèves held Gaul and Britain; and Galerius from Sirmium the diocese of Asia and the territory from Thrace to the border of Italy (see Gibbon, ii. 559 f.).

The joint rule of these four continued for twelve years, with, on the whole, excellent results. Then came the abdication of the Augusti (viii. 13. 10, 11; *M.P.* 3. 5, 6), which ushered in a period of great confusion. Diocletian abdicated on 1 May 305 on the hill near Nicomedia on which he had invested Maximian with the purple. He nominated Galerius as his successor and Maximin Daza (Galerius Valerius Maximinus), nephew of Galerius—a man of no distinction and almost unknown—as Cæsar (Lact., *Mort.* 19). On the same day, as we learn from a contemporary panegyrist (*Paneg.* vi. 11), Maximian abdicated at Milan, leaving Con-

stantius as Augustus of the West, with SEVERUS (Flavius Valerius Severus) as Cæsar. Severus was nearly as insignificant a person as Maximin Daza. Eusebius never mentions him in the *History*. It will be observed that, in the appointment of the Cæsars, Constantine, the son of Constantius, and Maxentius, the son of Maximian—the latter, it must be admitted, for good reasons (Lact., *Mort.* 18. 9; cp. viii. 14. 1–6)—were passed over. After the abdication a redistribution of the Empire among the four emperors was made. In the West, Spain was apparently added to the dominions of Constantius. In the East, the re-arrangement is for us more significant. Galerius retained his earlier territory, with the exception of Pannonia, but added to it Bithynia; and he made Nicomedia his capital. There were left for Maximin the dominions of Diocletian except Bithynia. His capital was Antioch (Gibbon, *l.c.*).

A year passed; and then Constantius summoned his son, CONSTANTINE, who was living at Nicomedia in uneasy relations with Galerius, to assist him in an expedition to Britain. The young prince, in spite of the efforts of Galerius to hinder him, obeyed the summons. His father died at York 25 July 306, and he was immediately proclaimed Augustus by the army. Galerius unwillingly accepted the *fait accompli;* but refused to acknowledge the new emperor as Augustus, and conferred upon him the title of Cæsar (Lact., *Mort.* 24, 25). His imperial name was Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus.

Hitherto the Tetrarchy had been preserved. But soon affairs took a fresh turn. MAXENTIUS (Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius) was proclaimed Cæsar at Rome, supported by the people and the Prætorian Guards, 27 October 306. His father, Maximian, emerged from his retirement, donned the purple once more, and came to his assistance (Lact., *Mort.* 26; 44. 4). There were now six emperors *de facto*. Severus attempted to dislodge Maxentius, was defeated, and was put to death in 307. His place seems to have been taken by LICINIUS (Lact., *Mort.* 26: cp. viii. 13. 14, note; *Gibbon*, i. 404, 405, 408, notes 28, 29, 35). Maximian, after manifold plottings, met a similar fate early in 310 (viii. 13. 15, note).

The death of Galerius at Sardica in May 311 (viii. 17. 2, note) reduced the number of emperors to four. Licinius was with Galerius when he was on his death-bed; and he was clearly designated to succeed to the whole of his dominions (Lact., *Mort.* 35. 3). But Maximin at once invaded Bithynia, and added it to his original sphere of government (*ib.* 36. 1 f.). In the following year Constantine moved against Maxentius and defeated him at the battle of the Milvian Bridge, where Maxentius was drowned, 27 October 312 (ix. 9. 2–7, notes; Lact., *Mort.* 44. 4). Constantine had made an alliance with Licinius, promising him his sister Constantia in marriage

(x. 8. 2, 4; Lact., *Mort.* 43. 2). Maximin took advantage of the wedding festivities to invade Thrace; but he was utterly defeated by Licinius, near Adrianople, 30 April 313, and died at Tarsus towards the end of the same year (Lact., *Mort.* 45–47; 49; note, p. 289).

Only two emperors now remained, CONSTANTINE in the West, and LICINIUS (Publius Flavius Valerius Licinianus Licinius) in the East. Their mutual amity did not continue long. The cause of discord is obscure. But a year after the death of Maximin they were at war with each other. Licinius was defeated at the battle of Cibalis (Vinkovci) on 8 October 314. After some further fighting a peace was made in December 314, which lasted, apparently unbroken, for nearly ten years. In the summer of 324 hostilities began once more. Licinius was finally defeated at Chrysopolis (Scutari) in September. By his execution shortly afterwards the Empire was re-united under the rule of Constantine. See *Gibbon*, i. 429–441.

Pref. *eighth treatise*] Cp. i. 1. 1, 2 and Introd., p. 3 f.

the events of our own day] *i.e.* the persecution (vii. 32. 32). It is important to note that in a large part of this book the chronological sequence of events is disregarded. Thus c. 1 deals with the early years of Diocletian; c. 2 mentions the first three persecution edicts, and c. 3 gives a summary of the result of the third. In c. 4 we return to the earlier period; and c. 5 recounts an incident connected with the first edict. In the next section (6–13. 8) the arrangement is not chronological, but for the most part topographical; and it is not till 13. 9 that events are recorded in the order of time. Moreover Eusebius omits many incidents of the persecution. Somewe re reserved for another work (13. 7); and others are wholly passed over as unedifying (2. 2, 3). But most serious of all is the absence of reference to the fourth edict of persecution, a notice of which was necessary to make his narrative intelligible (see note on cc. 7–13, p. 275). This confused method, due perhaps to the haste in which the book was written (Introd., p. 96), deprives his work of much of its value as a historical document. It is fortunate that we can supplement the information which it gives by the more lucid accounts in the *Martyrs of Palestine* and the *De Mortibus* of Lactantius.

1. 2 *government of the provinces*] *e.g.* Philoromus (9. 7), Adauctus (11. 2).

freeing them] *i.e.* allowing them to absent themselves from the pagan sacrifices which by custom and law were associated with the offices that they held.

3 *wives, children*] Apparently Prisca, Diocletian's wife, and his daughter Valeria, the wife of Galerius, were Christians. They were among the first who were compelled to sacrifice at the beginning of the persecution (Lact., *Mort.* 15. 1).

especial esteem] Cp. 6. 1.

1. 4 *Dorotheus . . . Gorgonius*] See 6. 5.

5 *churches of spacious dimensions*] Cp. Hierocles (?) in Macar. Mag. iv. 21 (p. 146).

6 *people*] λαόν. The people of God.

7, 8 Cp. *M.P.* 12.

7 *in the army*] See c. 4. So Lact., *Mort.* 10. 4.

2. 1 *the houses of prayer*, etc.] See § 4.

2, 3 Cp. *M.P.* 12.

2 *as to these*] The pastors of the churches (§ 1).

4 Eusebius here abruptly begins his account of the persecution, without suggesting any reason for Diocletian's abandonment of his favourable policy towards the Church, to which witness is borne in 1. 1–6. Lactantius helps us in some measure to supply this omission. He tells us (*Mort.* 11) that Galerius spent the winter of 302–3 at Nicomedia, in close consultation with Diocletian. His purpose was to persuade the Augustus to launch a general persecution of the Christians, against whom he had conceived a special animus. Diocletian long combated this proposal; but finally he consented to admit some magistrates and military officers to take part in the discussions. These all sided with Galerius. Diocletian, however, still refused his consent, and, as a last resource, sent a soothsayer to consult the oracle of Apollo at Miletus. The answer was in favour of persecution, and Diocletian surrendered. The emperor Constantine (see Eus., *V.C.* ii. 50, 51; cp. 4. 2, note) bears witness to this incident, and adds that Diocletian was suffering under a mental disorder at the time. However that may be, he forced Galerius to accept the condition that no blood was to be shed during the persecution. The result was the First Edict. Thus, according to Lactantius, Galerius was the originator of the general persecution (cp. *Mort.* 31. 1, "the author of the accursed persecution"). And Eusebius confirms the story, when he makes a similar accusation against Galerius (16. 2; Append. 1, 4; *V.C.* i. 56–58).

March] Lactantius (*Mort.* 12, 13) states that the persecution began with the destruction of the great church at Nicomedia, on the feast of Terminalia, February 23, and that the edict was posted on the following day, February 24. Eusebius obviously gives the date of its arrival in Palestine. Since the "festival of the Saviour's passion"—*i.e.* Easter (ii. 17. 21, note), which in 303 fell on April 18—was near, it is implied that this took place towards the *end* of March. In *M.P.*(S) Pref. he seems to put the date a little later; but see note there.

an imperial letter] The First Edict. As Eusebius presents it, it was divided into two parts, the first dealing with things, the second with persons. Each of these parts had two heads. Thus the edict provided: i. that (1) the churches should be

razed, and (2) the books of the Christians burnt; ii. that (1) men of rank—senators (illustres, spectabiles, clarissimi), perfectissimi, egregii—should be made *infames* (see next note), and (2) that other freemen should lose their liberty. Lactantius (*Mort.* 13) omits part i; and specially dwells on part ii, head 1. His exposition of that provision—which may have been included in the edict itself—is important. He tells us, as Mason (p. 103) puts it, that "all Christian men who held any official position were (not only to be stripped of their dignities, but) to be reduced to the condition of those who had no civil rights whatever;—to whom consequently torture (illegal for citizens) might be applied;—who might be sued at law, assaulted, plundered, have their wives defiled, without the barest possibility of legal defence or redress." This portion of the edict was modelled on the ordinances of Valerian (vii. 11. 1, note); but the rest was new. Unlike Valerian, Diocletian, at this stage, made no special mention of the clergy (§ 5), and did not authorize the death penalty (cp. first note on this section). Eusebius omits two provisions of the edict: the prohibition of Christian assemblies (ix. 10. 8: see note); and the denial of manumission to Christian slaves (Rufinus). See further Mason, pp. 103-116; Allard, i. 155–157.

2. 4 *lose all civil rights*] We have used this paraphrase to translate the Greek ἀτίμους = *infames*. See previous note.

those in households] τοὺς ἐν οἰκετίαις. Private citizens. So Mason (p. 344 f.) and Allard (i. 156). Other more or less improbable interpretations have been proposed: *e.g.*, "the (free) servants of the governors"—analogous to the "Cæsariani" of the edict of Valerian.

5 *other letters*] The Second and Third Edicts. See 6. 8, 10.

3. 1–4 This passage is repeated in a slightly different form, and with some omissions, in *M.P.*(S) 1. 3–5. From that place we learn that the incidents referred to, or most of them, occurred at Cæsarea between 7 June and 17 November, 303. It is clear, both from the position of the passage here and in *M.P.*, and from the character of the incidents themselves, that they took place after the Third Edict (which ordered that the clergy should be put to torture) had come into operation in Palestine. Eusebius assumes here that the events which he had seen at Cæsarea after the publication of the Edict were of like kind with those which occurred elsewhere at the same period. Whether the incidents recorded here and omitted in *M.P.* (the third and fourth in § 3) took place at Cæsarea we cannot tell. But other omissions in *M.P.* show that in reproducing the passage in that book Eusebius made some careless mistakes (*M.P.* 1. 4, notes).

4 *set on seeming*, etc.] Their aim was perhaps rather to secure the release of as many prisoners as possible.

4. 2 *he who had received the authority*] Galerius (cp. *M.P.* 9. 1 (S), of Maximin); or, as Mason (p. 41) and Allard (i. 107) think, the Devil? The "profound torpor" is the forty years' peace—the interval between the persecutions of Valerian and Diocletian.

those in the camps] Eusebius goes back to a period some years earlier than the edict of 2. 4, while the Church was still in peace (§ 1; cp. 1. 7 f.). Galerius originated the persecution in the army (Append. 1), probably during the Persian war of 296 (cp. § 3, note). For the martyrs which it produced, see Allard, i. 108–144. Diocletian seems to have had no part in it except on one occasion in the following year. When he was in the East—probably at Antioch—he attempted to obtain knowledge of the future by divination, without result. Tagis, the chief of the soothsayers, complained that the failure to find the usual tokens in the entrails of the sacrificial victims was due to the presence of Christians. The Augustus immediately ordered that all who were in the palace should sacrifice, and that any who refused should be scourged. A similar command was made to the troops, the penalty for disobedience being dismissal from the army (Lact., *Mort.* 10). It is worth noting (1) that, unlike Galerius (§ 4), Diocletian avoided bloodshed; and (2) that the response of the Miletian oracle, which finally drove him to begin the general persecution (2. 4, note), was similar to the complaint of Tagis: namely, that the righteous men on earth prevented Apollo from speaking the truth (Eus., *V.C.* ii. 50). Lactantius (*Inst.* iv. 27) states that the silencing of the oracles by Christians who signed themselves with the Cross was a frequent cause of persecution (cp. vii. 10. 4).

3 *magister militiæ*] This is Jerome's translation (*Chronicle*, p. 309) of στρατοπεδάρχης. The magister militiæ was the supreme commander under the emperor (Gibbon, ii. 175). That the person here mentioned, whose name was Veturius (*Chronicle*), served under Galerius is made clear by the statement that he "was making his first attempt at persecuting the soldiers" (cp. § 2, note). For the date of the incident we have the evidence of the *Chronicle*, which in St. Jerome's version places it between the first and second Persian wars. Eusebius (or Jerome) records them under the years 300 and 301; but the true dates are 296 and 297 (Gibbon, i. 369 ff.). Since this persecution of the soldiery preceded that of Diocletian, which according to Lactantius occurred during the second war, the action of Veturius may with probability be placed during or just after the first, *i.e.* in 296.

deprived of it] The penalty for officers was degradation (gradus dejectio), for soldiers dismissal, which involved forfeiture of the title and privileges of veterans (Allard, i. 112 f.)

4 *the instigator of the plot*] Galerius?

5. *the decree*] The First Edict (Lact., *Mort.* 13).

a certain person] Probably Euethius, who suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia on 24 February, the day on which the edict was published (Syriac Martyrology). Tradition, however, identified him with St. George of England.

the senior . . . he who held the fourth place] Diocletian and Galerius. See note, p. 266 and cp. 2. 4, note.

such results] He was tortured and burnt alive (Lact. *l.c.*). He suffered, of course, not for the Name, but for treason; he was put to death *legitime, i.e.* according to the ordinary law, as Lactantius puts it.

6. 1 *Dorotheus*] See § 5.

2 *A certain man*] Peter (§ 4).

the rulers] Diocletian and Galerius (c. 5). The presence of both emperors implies that Peter suffered before the second fire (§ 6, second note). This agrees sufficiently with the date of his commemoration in the Syriac Martyrology—12 March, a fortnight and two days after the issue of the edict.

3 *but little by little*] The slow fire was apparently first used against the Christians by Galerius (Lact., *Mort.* 21. 7). Thus it is probable that he was present, as Eusebius says (§ 2), when Peter was tortured.

4 *gave up the ghost*] Peter was not condemned to death, which would have been a violation of the First Edict (2. 4, notes): he died under torture.

5 *the rest*] The other imperial servants.

Dorotheus and Gorgonius] Cp. 1. 4; 6. 1. According to the Syriac Martyrology Gorgonius suffered on 11 March; and Dorotheus, with Peter (§§ 2–4) and seven others, on 12 March.

6 *Anthimus*] Cp. 13. 1. Eusebius states that Anthimus suffered "at that time," *i.e.* in the same period as Dorotheus and Gorgonius (§ 5), apparently after the fire (see next note), and certainly before the Second Edict (§ 8, "not long afterwards"). This is confirmed by the Syriac Martyrology. The only Anthimus mentioned in it is "April 24, [in Nicomedi]a Anthimus [. . .] with five other martyrs." It has been held, however, that Anthimus was martyred not long before Lucian (ix. 6. 3), *i.e.* in September 312 (Hunziker, in Büdinger's *Untersuch. zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*, ii. 281, followed by Mason, p. 324). It is incredible that Eusebius should have made a mistake of over nine years in the date of the martyrdom of the bishop of one of the most important sees of his day. But one document which has been thought to favour this conclusion is interesting. It is a scrap of a letter of Lucian to the Christians at Antioch, assumed without warrant to have been written when he was in prison shortly before his martyrdom. It runs thus: "The whole company of martyrs together greeteth you, and I tell you the good news that Pope

Anthimus has been perfected in the course of martyrdom " (*Chron. Pasch. s.a.* 303). Lucian was therefore at Nicomedia when Anthimus suffered. Since he wrote to the Antiochenes, and not to their bishop, the letter may have been written after the banishment of Cyril, and before Lucian had heard of the appointment of his successor, Tyrannus (vii. 32. 4, note); in other words, just at the time at which Eusebius places the death of Anthimus. Moreover *Chron. Pasch.* places the martyrdom in the same year as Eusebius. The statement that Anthimus " was beheaded for his witness to Christ " cannot be strictly correct: the First Edict did not authorize capital punishment. It is probable (as the next sentence suggests) that he was executed for supposed complicity in the fire.

6. 6 *a fire broke out*] Lactantius (*Mort.* 14) informs us that the palace, apparently not long after the issue of the First Edict, was set on fire. Examination by torture of the members of Diocletian's household failed to discover the incendiaries. Fifteen days later there was a second, but less serious, fire. On the same day (according to Brandt's punctuation of the sentence) Galerius left Nicomedia, protesting that if he remained he would be burnt. Lactantius, who was then at Nicomedia, declares that Galerius himself was the originator of the fires; Constantine, who was also there, and who, like Eusebius, mentions only one fire, says (*Orat.* 25) that it was caused by lightning; while popular rumour accused the Christians. This rumour, and the examination of the palace servants, are strong evidence against the veracity of Constantine's statement, and probability is in favour of Lactantius' view, at least as regards the second fire (Mason, 118 f.; Allard, i. 159–163).

by the imperial command] Lactantius (*Mort.* 15. 2, 3) mentions the incidents to which Eusebius refers in this sentence. They took place after the departure of Galerius from Nicomedia, and were due to the rage of Diocletian caused by the second fire.

it is recorded] λόγος ἔχει. The phrase implies a document; and it is possible that the document which Eusebius used was the letter of Lucian to the Antiochenes quoted in a previous note. Eusebius seems to have paid a visit to Antioch shortly before the beginning of the persecution and to have been acquainted with the clergy of the church there (vii. 32. 2–4).

a multitude of others] According to Lactantius they were members of Diocletian's household (domestici). Martyrs were often put to death by drowning, especially under Maximin. See 8; 12. 5; 13. 3, 4; 14. 13; x. 9. 17; *M.P.* 4. 13; 5. 1, 3; 6. 7; 7. 2; Lact., *Mort.* 15. 3; 37. 1.

7 *committed to the ground*] Cf. *M.P.* 11. 15, note.

lest any, etc.] Cp. iv. 15. 41. Lactantius (*Inst.* v. 11. 6)

says of Galerius, "He not only scatters men's limbs: he grinds their very bones and vents his wrath upon ashes, that there may be no place of burial; as though it were the aim of those who confess God that men should go to their tombs, and not that they themselves should go to God." See also *M.P.* 11. 15, note; Lact., *Mort.* 21. 11.

6. 8 *district known as Melitene*] The province of Armenia Minor, of which Melitene was the capital. It was originally part of Cappadocia, and lay beside the independent kingdom of Armenia. There is no other record of a rebellion there under Diocletian. But many of its inhabitants were Christians, and the neighbouring kingdom was now a Christian nation (ix. 8. 2). There is moreover evidence of disaffection to the government in the district at this time (Mason, 126 ff.; Allard, i. 223 ff.).

Syria] The reference has been supposed to be to a petty rebellion under Diocletian, recorded by Libanius (ed. Reiske, pp. 323 ff., 644, 661 ff.). Five hundred soldiers, who were engaged on work in the harbour of Seleucia, he says, revolted, and forced their tribune, one Eugenius, to proceed to Antioch, which at the moment was without a garrison, and to don the purple. But the people of Antioch overpowered the rebels, who were all slaughtered the same night. Diocletian, somewhat inconsequently, proceeded to put to death the chief citizens of Antioch and Seleucia (*D.C.B.* ii. 275; Mason, 124 f.). The date of this rising is unknown, and it is improbable that the Christians had any part in it. That Eusebius alludes to it here is therefore unlikely.

an imperial command] This Second Edict has been mentioned in 2. 5. Before its issue the First Edict had apparently been published in Syria and Armenia Minor, and had caused trouble in those regions which had been reported to Galerius. The Second Edict was later than the martyrdom of Anthimus (§ 6, note), and probably before the arrest of Procopius (*M.P.* 1. 1, note), *i.e.* between 24 April and 7 June, 303. Its substance recalls the ordinance of Valerian, which provided that special measures should be taken against the clergy (vii. 11. 1, note). But while Valerian ordered that they should be put to death at sight, the present edict merely ordered their imprisonment: the persecution was still to be bloodless.

9 *a countless number*] So Lact., *Mort.* 15. 5: "the prisons were full."

bishops and presbyters, etc.] Thus it appears that "the presidents of the churches" (§ 8) included all orders of the clergy. Cp. 13. 1–7; *M.P.* 1. 1, 5; 2.

10 *the first letter*] The edict of § 8, which we have called the second.

others] The Third Edict (cp. 2. 5), which appears to have

followed the Second after a very short interval. It was evidently intended to remedy a defect in its predecessor. Mere imprisonment had not produced the desired result: the majority of the clergy had not apostatized, and the prisons were full to overflowing (§ 9). The application of torture might relieve the congestion. Mason's view—that it was not really an edict but a clause of the act of amnesty (*M.P.* 2. 4), indicating the condition under which the Christian clergy should share in it, viz., that they should sacrifice—seems to be untenable, though it is accepted by Lightfoot (*Clem.* i. 295). See Mason, pp. 206–209; Allard, i. 243 f.

Africa and Mauretania] Eusebius gives no account of the persecutions in these regions. The dominions of Constantius and (curiously) Galerius are omitted from this list.

Thebais] See 9. 1–5; 13. 7.

Egypt] See c. 8; 9. 6–8; 10; 13. 7; *M.P.* 5. 3.

into other cities] See c. 7; 13. 5; *M.P.* 3. 3 (S), 4 (L); 8. 1, 13; 10. 1; 11. 5–13; 13. 1 (L), 3–6, 10.

7–13. Chapters 5, 6 have dealt with the beginning of the persecution at Nicomedia: of later incidents there Eusebius seems to have had no information (but see 13. 2). In 6. 9, 10 he begins to take a wider range. And in cc. 7–12 he gives a summary of the events of the persecution in other regions, the arrangement of the chapters being topographical. By way of appendix to this section of the book, he gives a list of "rulers of churches" who suffered martyrdom (13. 1–7), arranged according to the districts to which they belonged. Now it is obvious that the events recorded in these chapters are not explained by the edicts of 303. The laity as well as the clergy are put to torture and the persecution is by no means bloodless. All, without distinction, are sentenced to death for the Name. In other words, the Fourth Edict of 304 (*M.P.* 3. 1), if not the Fifth of 306 (*M.P.* 4. 8), is pre-supposed. We must assume therefore that Eusebius is now giving us an account of the persecution as a whole, in each region which he mentions, from 303 to the edict of toleration of 311, with which the book closes. But his omission to refer to the edicts which from 304 on were the legal basis of the persecution leaves his résumé, from an historical point of view, unintelligible (cp. Pref., note).

7. 1 *in Palestine*] No particulars of these are given here. They are reserved for *M.P.* See 6. 10, note on "into other cities."

followed immediately on the lashes] See v. 1. 38, note.

2 *power of our Saviour*] Cp. 12. 11; *M.P.* (L), 4. 12, 13.

did not dare to touch] Cp. v. 1. 42, and note.

to draw them on to themselves] Cp. iii. 36. 8.

4 *in the form of a cross*] Cp. v. 1. 41.

5 *to approach them*] Cp. § 2.

goading irons] Cp. § 1.

6 *instead of being buried*] Cp. *M.P.* 11. 15, note.

8. 1 *their own land*] The northern districts of Egypt. Thebais (c. 9) was the southern district. All these districts had separate governors, subject to the Prefect of Egypt.

manifold torments] For new kinds of torture devised in this persecution cp. 6. 1; 10. 3, 5; 12. 7; 16. 2; Lact., *Inst.* v. 11.

9. 1–5 This seems to be a later insertion. It breaks the connexion between c. 8 and 9. 6 ff. (9. 7, note), and it was obviously written after Nov. 311 (§ 4, note).

4 *we ourselves also beheld*] Eusebius seems to have been in Palestine from the beginning of the persecution up to its eighth year (311), when he went to Egypt (vii. 32. 28; *M.P.* 13. 8, note. Cp. *D.C.B.* ii. 311 f.). He can hardly have reached the Thebais till after the last edict of Galerius. But from that time till November 311 there was no violent persecution in Maximin's dominions. It follows that Eusebius cannot have been present at the scenes here recorded before that month; and it is probable that they took place not earlier than the middle of 312 (ix. 2; 4: see note, p. 287).

6 *those especially were marvellous*] Since Philoromus and Phileas suffered not in the Thebais, but at Alexandria, §§ 6–8 and c. 12 are a pendant to c. 8, rather than to §§ 1–5 (cp. note there).

7 *Philoromus*] See next note.

Phileas] Cp. 13. 7. The Acts of the martyrdom of Phileas and Philoromus, printed in Ruinart, 493 ff. (E. T. Mason, p. 290, omitting conclusion), are generally regarded as in the main authentic. From them and other sources we gather that Phileas, bishop of Thmuis in Lower Egypt, was a man of great wealth (*Acta* 2), and noble birth (Jer., *V.I.* 78), who had held high office, and was a philosopher. He probably became a Christian late in life, for at the time of his martyrdom his wife and children were pagans (*Acta* 1, 2). He was arrested as a Christian, and was imprisoned at Alexandria (10. 1), with three other bishops, Hesychius, Pachymius and Theodore, and the layman Philoromus. From the prison a letter was sent to Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, in the name of the four bishops, deprecating his performance of episcopal functions in their communities (Routh, *R.S.* iv. 91). Phileas also wrote to his people at Thmuis giving an account of the persecution (c. 10). Ultimately Phileas and Philoromus were examined by Culcianus, the prefect of Egypt (*Acta*), and were beheaded together. They seem to have been apprehended in 306. This is made probable by several lines of argument. Their martyrdom was before the Edict of Toleration of Galerius in April 311 (*Euseb.*, p. 272) and after the Fourth Edict of March 304 (*M.P.* 3. 1; cp. 10. 10, note); but not between May 305 and March 306, during which period there was no violent persecution in Maximin's dominions (ix. 9a. 5, note). Thus for the passion of Phileas we are confined to the periods March 304–April 305 and after March 306. Now Athanasius, writing in

either 356 or 361 (*Ad Episc. Egypt.* 22), and evidently referring to the action of Meletius, mentioned above, states that the Meletians had "become schismatics five and fifty years ago." This brings us to either 301 or 306. Since the former date is impossible we must accept the latter (Hefele, i, § 40). Phileas and Philoromus are commemorated in the Hieronymian Martyrology on 4 February. If this date is right they were executed on 4 February 307; for in February 306 the Christians were not being persecuted. The Martyrology wrongly states that they suffered at Thmuis (Themoi): see H. J. Lawlor, *Martyrology of Ricemarch*, i, p. 62.

10. 1 *at Alexandria*] This is not stated in the following quotation, but it may have been recorded elsewhere in the letter.

2 *martyrs with us*] Phileas was imprisoned in the place where the martyrs of whom he writes suffered, presumably Alexandria (§ 1), and certainly not Thmuis (§ 11; cp. *Acta*, 2).

directed the eye, etc.] Cp. the words of Phileas (*Acta*, 2), that "it behoved him . . . to *direct his mind towards* heaven, keep *God before his eyes*, and regard the holy martyrs and apostles as his own kith and kin." The similarity of phrase confirms the genuineness of the *Acta*.

6 *the governor*] Culcianus (9. 7; ix. 11. 4, notes).

9 *under treatment*] Supplied by the government officials; cp. Lact., *Inst.* v. 11: "They avoided nothing more than they should die under torture . . . yea, with obstinate folly they ordered that diligent care should be taken of those who had been tortured, that their limbs might be restored to endure new torments, and that a fresh stock of blood might be laid in for punishment."

10 *the choice*, etc.] This implies the Fourth Edict (*M.P.* 3. 1).

receiving from them] Apparently from the prison authorities.

He that sacrificeth, etc.] The same verse is quoted by Phileas before Culcianus (*Acta*, 1).

11 *his community*] At Thmuis (9. 7).

before the final sentence] It is implied that Phileas was martyred at the place of his imprisonment—Alexandria (§§ 1, 2, notes).

11. 1 This episode is referred to by Lactantius (*Inst.* v. 11): "Everyone who received authority raged in his own manner . . . some were quick to slay, as one in Phrygia who burnt a whole people, and their church as well." Ramsay (*Phrygia*, pp. 502–509) thinks that the town may have been Eumenia. W. M. Calder (*Class. Rev.*, Feb. 1928) points out that the magistrates of this small town were scarcely 'duumvirs,' as our text translates στρατηγοί.

2 *Adauctus*] Rufinus says that he held office in the city mentioned in § 1, and was the "author and leader" of the constancy of the people in their martyrdom.

12. 1 *in Mesopotamia*] It seems that there were few Mesopo-

tamian martyrs in the persecution of Diocletian (F. C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goth*, pp. 15, 20, 21). The acts of only three of them have been preserved—those of Shmona and Guria, executed apparently 15 November 309, and of Habbib, burnt 2 September 310 (*ib.* 30). Eusebius here seems to allude in a confused way to two distinct incidents of their sufferings. The governor threatened that he would hang Shmona and Guria by the foot; and he fulfilled his promise in the case of Shmona, and left him hanging head downwards for three hours (*Acta*, 19, 35). Habbib's sentence was that he should "be burnt by a slow lingering fire"; but it was not carried out to the letter (*Acta*, 34, 37, 38).

Rufinus may have known the source which Eusebius used. At all events he corrects Eusebius's summary. He writes: "Who could recount the tortures in Mesopotamia, where Christians were suspended, each by a single hand and foot, like a chine of bacon, and put to death with shameful tortures, by subjecting them to stifling smoke from below? Where they killed *others* with more prolonged agonies by kindling a slow fire near them?"

12. 1 *the noses*, etc.] Lactantius, speaking of Maximin, in whose dominions Alexandria lay (*Mort.* 36. 6, 7), says that in 311 he "professed mildness" and forbade the Christians to be put to death, but ordered that their eyes should be dug out, their hands and feet cut off and their ears or noses slit.

2 *put their right hand*] *e.g.* Barlaam (Allard, ii. 77).
threw themselves down] *e.g.* Pelagia (Allard, ii. 79).

3 *holy person*] Domnina. Her daughters were named Bernice and Prosdoce. This we learn from St. Chrysostom (*Hom. in Bernice*, etc.; *P.G.* 1. 629), who tells the story more fully than Eusebius. According to him the three ladies fled from Antioch, and took refuge in Edessa. Their hiding place was betrayed by Domnina's husband. He accompanied the band of soldiers who were sent to Edessa to bring them back. On the way they threw themselves into a river near Hierapolis in Syria, five days' journey from Antioch.

fornication] Apparently to be committed to a brothel. See *M.P.* 5. 3, note.

5 *their own executioners*] Cp. 6. 6; 14. 14, 16, 17; iv. 15. 48, note; vi. 41. 7.

10 *their eyes should be gouged out*] Cp. *M.P.* 7. 3 (S); 8, 1, 4, 13; 10. 1; 13. 1 (L), 6 (S). Eusebius says that this form of punishment was invented by Maximin (*V.C.* i. 58, 59). Cp. § 1, note.

11 *the power of our Saviour*] Cp. 7. 2.

13. 1 *rulers of the churches*] Seventeen are mentioned, including six presbyters, §§ 2, 3, 6, 7. Cp. 6. 9, note.

Anthimus] See 6. 6 and note.

2 *Lucian*] He suffered in 313. See ix. 6. 3.

13. 3 *Silvanus*] Cp. ix. 6. 1, from which we learn that Silvanus suffered in 312.

5 *Silvanus*, etc.] See *M.P.* 13. 4, 5, 9, 10.

Phæno] In Idumæa, between Petra and Zoar, as Eusebius and Jerome tell us in their *Onomastica* (P. de Lagarde, 123, ll. 9–12). Now Phenân. Apparently the Pinon or Punon of the Old Testament (Gen. xxxvi. 41; Num. xxxiii. 42 f.; 1 Chron. i. 52).

Peleus and Nilus] See *M.P.* 13. 3.

6 *Pamphilus*] See *M.P.* 11. 1, note.

we shall record] At first sight it would seem that Eusebius is referring to his *Life of Pamphilus* (*M.P.* 11. 3, S). But apparently it was already written (see Introd., p. 7). Probably therefore the reference is to the account of Pamphilus in *M.P.* 7. 4–6; 11. Cp. § 7. There is some slight evidence, however, for the reading "we recorded."

7 *Peter*] See ix. 6. 2, note.

Faustus] A companion of Dionysius in the Decian persecution (vi. 40. 9; vii. 11. 26); apparently to be distinguished from a deacon of the same name (vii. 11. 3, 6, 24). See vii. 11. 26, note.

Phileas] See 9. 7, note.

Hesychius, etc.] The bishops who were imprisoned with Phileas (9. 7, note). It has been supposed that Hesychius was the well-known Egyptian critic of the Biblical text (Swete, pp. 78–80); but this is mere conjecture.

another work] The *Martyrs of Palestine*.

8 *the recantation*] See 17. 3–10.

9 *decennalia and vicennalia*] Festivals at the beginning of the tenth and of the twentieth year of a reign. No emperor after Antoninus Pius and before the great persecution celebrated his vicennalia, except Diocletian.

10 *revolution*] The abdication. See note, p. 266; *M.P.* 3. 5, note. The "second year" of the persecution was 305 (Introd., p. 38).

11 *a fateful disease*] Diocletian (he "who stood first") seems to have suffered declining health throughout the year 303. Constantine (*V.C.* ii. 51) states that his mind was unhinged when the First Edict was issued in February. But he was able to celebrate his vicennalia at Rome on 20 November. A month later he left Rome in bitter winter weather, and fell into an illness, which, though it did not at the moment seem serious, did not yield to treatment. He was carried in a litter by slow stages, and did not reach Nicomedia till the month of August 304 (Lact., "æstate transacta"; he issued a rescript at Nicomedia on 28 August, *Cod. Justin.* iii. 28. 26). In spite of increasing illness he dedicated a circus in November, with the result that for months he lay at death's door. He appeared again in public on 1 March 305, but so changed as to

be unrecognizable. He had then, according to Lactantius, been languishing in sickness "for nearly a whole year." We may suppose that from the preceding March or April he was practically laid aside, though the illness had actually begun much earlier. Henceforth he was afflicted with intermittent insanity (Lact., *Mort.* 17). Eusebius here seems to imply that his illness was the cause of Diocletian's abdication (cp. Const., *Orat.* 25; *Paneg.* vi. 9; Eutrop., ix. 28; Lact., *Mort.* 18. 2, 7; 19. 3); but in *V.C.* i. 18 he declares himself ignorant on this point.

13. 11 *honoured with the second place*] Maximian. See note, p. 266.

rent in twain] The meaning of this remark is explained in *M.P.* 13. 13. Severus (note, p. 226 f.) followed Constantius in leaving the Christians in peace. Thus persecution continued in the East while it ceased in the West. The policy of the rulers of one part of the Empire differed in this respect from that of the rulers of the other.

12 *died*] 25 July 306. See note, p. 367.

his lawful son] Lactantius (*Mort.* 24. 8) states, in agreement with Eusebius, that Constantius designated Constantine as his successor. So also *Paneg.* vii. 7, 8. But other authorities (*Anon. Vales.*, 2. 4; Vict. *Cæs.* 40. 4 [=*Epit.* 41. 3]; Zos., ii. 9) say nothing of this.

13 *neither did he pull down the church-buildings.* Cp. Eus., *V.C.* i. 16; ii. 49. Lactantius (*Mort.* 15. 7) does not concur: "Constantius, that he might not appear to dissent from the commands of his superiors, suffered the churches—that is, the walls, which could be restored—to be destroyed, but the temple of God, which consists of men, he kept safe from harm." This evidence is important, because Lactantius was in Gaul in 310, if not as early as 306 (*Euseb.* 237 f.). Eusebius himself (*M.P.* 13. 12) contradicts the statement that Constantius "took no part in the war against us." But it is clear that under him the persecution was comparatively insignificant. The Donatists of Africa, in a petition to Constantine, described him as one "whose father did not join the other emperors in the persecution" (Optatus, i. 22: cp. note, p. 314).

14 *Constantine*] Constantine had apparently lived in the East during the later years of the reign of Diocletian. He was present when Diocletian abdicated the throne (Lact., *Mort.* 18. 10; 19); and he continued to reside at Nicomedia for another year, constantly plotted against by Galerius (*ib.* 24. 4, 5). For his escape from Nicomedia and his proclamation as Augustus see note, p. 267.

from the very first] *i.e.* he became Augustus without first ruling as Cæsar (cp. § 12; Lact., *Mort.* 24. 9; 25. 5). But the statement is doubtful (cp. *Anon. Vales.* 2. 4. etc.). He seems to have put forth immediately an ordinance in favour of the Christians (Lact., *Mort.* 24. 9).

most perfect emperor] *i.e.* emperor in the highest sense, practically equivalent to Augustus.

13. 14 *vote of the rulers*] The reference seems to be to the Congress of Carnuntum, November 307, at which Diocletian, Maximian and Galerius were present. Licinius, who appears to have been already Cæsar (note, p. 267), was there given the title of Augustus (*Gibbon* i. 405, 408, notes). Notice the allusive way in which Licinius and Maximin (§ 15) are referred to. They were both on the throne when Eusebius wrote (Introd., p. 5).

15 *seized the honour*] This is confirmed by Lactantius (*Mort.* 32, where additional details are given). Ultimately Galerius acknowledged Maximin as Augustus.

as we have shown] Maximian is meant (see note, p. 267); but Eusebius has not before mentioned his resumption of the purple.

shameful death] Taken in the act of attempting to murder Constantine he was compelled to commit suicide, and strangled himself (Lact., *Mort.* 30; Vict., *Epit.* 40. 5; cp. Vict., *Cæs.* 40. 22). He seems to have died early in 310.

the first] That is the first of the four emperors of the tetrarchy. The statues of previous emperors had been thrown down.

14. 1 *counterfeited our faith*] That Maxentius posed as a Christian may well be doubted. But that he favoured the Church is undeniable. Lactantius (*Mort.* 43. 1) seems to exclude him from the number of the persecutors; and Eusebius (*M.P.* 13. 12) states that the persecution in the West came to an end before he was elected emperor. In point of fact the Papacy was vacant for some years from the death of Marcellinus in 304, and it was not until after the accession of Maxentius that a Pope could be elected. Under the new Pope—Marcellus—the church was re-organized. When Miltiades succeeded to the Papal chair (2 July 310), Maxentius restored to him the property of the church that had been confiscated during the persecution (Aug., *Brev. Coll.* iii. 34). It is true that he persecuted the African Christians for a time in 311; but apparently under the impression that they were in revolt against him (Optatus, i. 17, 18). He also banished Popes Marcellus and Eusebius; but their exile was due to quarrels among the Christians themselves. The Christians at Rome suffered, of course, from the tyranny and lust of Maxentius (§§ 2–6, 16–18), but there is no reason to suppose that they suffered more than their pagan neighbours. See further Allard, ii. 131 f., 214 ff.; Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 296 ff.; F. Görres, in *Zeitsch. f. Wissenschaftl. Theol.* xxxiii (1890), 206. But note the remarks of Harnack (*Expansion*, ii. 250 f.), who reckons Maxentius as a persecutor.

2 *dissolute act*] The lasciviousness of Maxentius is mentioned in *Paneg.* x. 8 and in Vict., *Cæs.* 40. 19.

3 *gave the people over to his body-guard*] Vict., *Cæs.* 40. 24 : " He once permitted the populace to be slaughtered by the prætorians." *Paneg.* ix. 4 : " He was pursued by the crimes of a slaughtered senate and a Roman people starved to death." *Paneg.* x. 8 : " Why should I mention his most disgraceful slaughtering of unfortunate beings . . . his wretched plundering of ancestral property ? " *Paneg.* ix. 3 : " But all who either plotted against him, or made any open attempt to secure liberty, he had punished and crushed by force of arms."

14. 5 *witchcraft*] *Paneg.* ix. 4 contrasts Constantine's observance of the " divine precepts " with the " superstitious and evil practices " of Maxentius.

all his hope] Lactantius (*Mort.* 44. 1) says that, when Constantine invaded Italy, Maxentius, on the ground of an oracle, remained in Rome. Cp. *Paneg.* ix. 14. Before he left the city he consulted the soothsayers and the Sibylline books, and received an oracle which gave him the " hope of victory " (Lact., *Mort.* 44. 8 f. ; Zos., ii. 16).

6 *scarcity*] *Paneg.* ix. 3 says that Maxentius seized the wealth that had been gathered during 1060 years (*i.e.* from the founding of Rome). Vict., *Cæs.* 40. 24 states that by a most evil institution he compelled the Fathers (senators) and husbandmen to supply him with money to enable him to continue his prodigal expenditure. These things must have produced scarcity, as did similar exactions of Maximin (§ 10, note) ; and scarcity under Maxentius is implied by *Paneg.* ix. 4 (quoted in § 3, note).

7–16 This long passage about Maximin has the appearance of being (in whole or in part : see §§ 13, 14, notes) a later insertion. It is awkwardly introduced into the middle of an account of the tyranny of Maxentius. At the beginning (§ 8) Maximin is represented as an imitator of Maxentius, while later on (§ 16) Maxentius is described as following the example of Maximin. It seems that according to the original plan of the book, the persecution of Maximin, of which Eusebius was an eye-witness, was reserved for the *Martyrs of Palestine* (13. 7). Accordingly, apart from the present passage, Maximin is referred to only once (13. 15).

7 *friendly alliance*] Lact., *Mort.* 43. 2, 3 : " When Maximin heard that Constantine's sister had been espoused to Licinius (after April 311), he concluded that this affinity between the two emperors was being contracted to his prejudice. So he sent ambassadors to the City secretly, desiring alliance and friendship with Maxentius. He also wrote to him in familiar terms. The embassage was received ; friendship was established, and the images of Maximin were placed beside those of Maxentius."

detected] When Constantine entered Rome after the battle of the Milvian Bridge (ix. 9. 2–7). " He became aware of the

perfidy of Maximin, when he got possession of the letter and found the statues and images" (Lact., *Mort.* 44. 10).

14. 8 *of the highest honour*] Cp. ix. 11. 5.

oracles] Cp. ix. 10. 2, 6.

9 *ordering temples to be erected*] About October 309 (*M.P.* 9. 2).

appointed idol priests] About August 312. See ix. 4. 2, note.

bestowed governments] For example, Theotecnus (ix. 11. 5).

10 *assessments*] For the oppressive taxation throughout the Empire at this period see Gibbon i. 384, 401 f. Of Maximin Lactantius (*Mort.* 37. 3, 4) says, "If Diocletian or Galerius left anything he took it: he carried off everything without shame. Hence the granaries of private citizens were closed, the warehouses were sealed up, taxes due for future years were demanded. From this cause came famine, though the fields produced crops, from this an unheard-of rise in prices."

bestowed, etc.] Cp. Lact., *Mort.* 37. 5.

11 *would give such orders*] Similarly in Vict., *Epit.* 40. 19 we are told that Maximin made an ordinance that commands given by him in the evening were not to be obeyed unless they were confirmed in the morning when he was sober.

debauchery] Cp. Lact., *Mort.* 38.

13 *in this he was successful*, etc.] A similar remark is made in *V.C.* i. 33, not about Maximin but about Maxentius. Possibly in the first edition of this book it had the same reference. Cp. next note.

14 *yielded up their souls*] A sentence almost identical with this occurs in *V.C.* i. 33, but there it applies to Maxentius and introduces the story told below in §§ 16b, 17, which is there reproduced almost word for word. It is therefore probable that §§ 15, 16a are an interpolation, and that originally §§ 16b, 17 immediately followed § 14b.

15 *a Christian lady*] Her name was Dorothea, according to Rufinus.

16 *woman at Rome*] Sophronia (Rufinus).

15. 1 *period of ten years*] Probably substituted in the second edition for "period of eight years." Cp. Introd. p. 5.

2 *we shall recount*] The reference seems to be to the famine and pestilence recorded in ix. 8. But they were confined to Maximin's dominions, and this chapter deals with the empire as a whole. The allusion to them is therefore probably a later addition.

16. 1 *tenth year*] 313 (Introd., p. 5). The awkwardness of the sentence gives ground for suspicion that the text is not as it was originally written. Moreover, a reference to the tenth year by way of introduction to an event of the eighth is curious; and that the edict should be described as "quenching the fire" of a persecution which continued for two years, with

increasing violence (ix. 6. 4) after it was issued, is almost a contradiction in terms. We conjecture, therefore, that Eusebius originally wrote some such words as " which came completely to an end . . . in (not ' after ') the eighth year," and at a later time altered the sentence in order to bring it into harmony with facts. See further *Euseb.*, p. 277 f. It has been suggested that the edict of Galerius was issued, not in, but after, the eighth year. But Silvanus of Gaza was beheaded in the eighth year on 4 May, a week after its issue (17. 1, note; *M.P.* (L), vol. i, p. 328; 13. 9; cp. *M.P.* 13. 11).

16. 1 *changed their mind*] Constantine and Licinius did not change their mind : they had never persecuted the Christians. The reference must therefore be to Galerius and Maximin.

a recantation] The Edict of Toleration (17. 3–10).

2 *attacked*] Lactantius (*Mort.* 33. 1, 11) says that the illness of Galerius began in his eighteenth year (which ended on 31 March 311 : see note, p. 266), and that it lasted a year before he " confessed God " and issued the edict. Since the edict was published before 30 April 311 (17. 2, note) we may infer that the illness began in April 310.

5 *put to death*] Rufinus makes an addition to the narrative here. According to him one of the physicians who were condemned to death told Galerius that his sickness was a divine chastisement for his crimes against the Christians, and could not be cured by human means. It was this rebuke that led to his acknowledgement of God and the issue of the edict.

17. 1 *those around him*] Probably his council of assessors.

2 *promulgated*] Galerius seems to have died at Sardica, the present Sophia (*Anon. Vales.*, 3. 8). Lactantius (*Mort.* 35) says that the Edict of Toleration was published at Nicomedia on 30 April 311; adding that Galerius died a few days after its issue, and that the news reached Nicomedia on either the nones (7th) or ides (15th : text uncertain) of May. No doubt both the edict and the report of the emperor's death were despatched to the Government officials at Nicomedia—477 Roman miles from Sardica, according to the Antonine Itinerary —with all possible speed. Now the imperial post travelled at the rate of about 120 miles a day (Friedländer, *Sittengesch. Roms*, vol. ii. p. 17). Allowing therefore four days for transit, we conclude that the edict was issued at Sardica on 26 April, and that Galerius died on 3 or 11 May. The death of Galerius is not directly mentioned in the *History*; but see Append. 1.

3–5 This inscription is known to us only in the translation of Eusebius. The original of the remainder of the edict (§§ 6–10) is given by Lactantius (*Mort.* 34). It will be observed that Maximin's names and titles are here omitted. But it is certain that the edict was issued, according to custom (cp. Lact., *Mort.* 15. 6), in the name of all four emperors. This is stated

by Lactantius (*Mort.* 36. 3: Maximin set aside "the concession granted to the Christians in the name of all, *communi titulo*"); and it is implied by Eusebius himself in two passages (16. 1; Append. 6, notes). The mention of Licinius is suppressed in some important authorities, no doubt because he later became a persecutor (x. 8). Similarly the clause referring to Maximin may have been deleted because that emperor ignored the edict in his own dominions (ix. 1. 1).

17. 6 *we frame*] Not the emperors whose names appear in the inscription of the edict, but those who originated the persecution.

order] ἐπιστήμην: the usual translation of "disciplina" (which is the word in the original in this place), especially in documents of this kind. We find the same word and translation again in § 9.

the persuasion of their own ancestors] This has been understood as meaning (1) early Christianity (Mason, pp. 302–305), or (2) Judaism (Duruy vi, p. 602). But the reference seems to be rather to (3) paganism (McGiffert *ad loc.*). "The persuasion of their own ancestors" is obviously equivalent to "the institutions of the ancients" in § 7; and when the latter phrase is repeated in § 8 it certainly means paganism. Again, the earlier part of the letter of Sabinus to the governors (ix. 1. 3) is based on the present passage; and it regards the Christians as having forsaken the imperial religion. And Eusebius is a witness to the soundness of this interpretation. In his *Præp. Ev.* (i. 2) he sums up thus the arguments by which the persecution was supposed to be justified: "How can men fail to be in every way impious and godless who have apostatized from their ancestral gods (τῶν πατρῴων θεῶν)? . . . To what kind of punishments would they not justly be subjected, who, deserting their ancestral customs (τῶν πατρίων φυγάδες), have become zealous for the foreign myths of the Jews, which are of evil report among all men?" And elsewhere (*Præp. Ev.* iv. 1), "In this present book it will be the right time to examine the third part. And this is what is established in the several cities and countries, and which they call the state religion, and which is also especially enforced by the laws as both ancient and ancestral (παλαιὸν καὶ πάτριον) . . . [The Greeks] have thoroughly persuaded themselves . . . that we are guilty of the greatest impiety in . . . breaking laws which require everyone to reverence ancestral customs (τὰ πάτρια), and not to disturb what should be inviolable, but to walk orderly in following the religion of their forefathers (τῇ τῶν προπατόρων εὐσεβείᾳ), and not to be meddlesome through love of innovation. Thus they say that even death has been deservedly fixed by the laws as the punishment of those who transgress." Cp. *Præp. Ev.* i. 5; ii. 5; iv. 4, 21; vi. 6, 10 (*ad fin.*); vii. 5; x. 1; xiv. 10; *Dem. Ev.* i. 1.

It will be remembered that when Eusebius wrote these sentences he had before him the edicts of persecution, to which the preamble of the edict of toleration looks back, and probably the edict of toleration itself. Throughout the *Præparatio* he seems never to have defended the Church against the charge of departing from primitive Christian teaching.

17. 7 *self-will*] πλεονεξία : Lat. "voluntas."

each one wished] So the Greek translation. But the Latin has "ut *iisdem* erat libitum," *i.e.* "as their pleasure was," differing essentially in meaning.

8 *and endured all kinds of death*] Not in the Latin, but a correct gloss. Cp. ii. 2. 6, note.

9 *to the same folly*] Lat. "in proposito" : "to their determination."

neither paying the worship, etc.] For the sufficient reason that the assemblies of Christians for worship had been made illegal.

most willingly, etc.] Lat. "our speediest indulgence."

That Christians may exist] Thus Christianity is now made a *religio licita*, as it seems for the first time. Cp. vii. 13, note. For the phrase cp. v. 21. 4, note.

always provided, etc.] A most important clause, because it was capable of interpretations which might make the preceding concessions nugatory.

another letter] This letter is lost. But two references to it in the "Edict of Milan" imply that it seriously modified the liberty granted to the Christians in the edict of Galerius. See x. 5. 3, 6.

judges] *Præsides*, or governors of provinces, often called *iudices* in the fourth century.

10 *beseech their own god*] Eusebius discovers in this a confession of God (Append. 1; cp. § 1). But the words imply no more than that the God of the Christians was one of the many deities who might be invoked.

in every way] κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. The last word should be τόπον ("place") : Lat. "undiqueversum."

BOOK IX.

Note on the Chronology of the Book.

Book ix deals with the persecution in the East from the edict of Galerius to the death of Maximin. The edict was published at Nicomedia on 30 April 311 (Lact., *Mort.* 35. 1). It may be assumed that it was in the hands of Maximin in May; and in that month, no doubt, he gave his instructions to the principal officers of state, and Sabinus wrote his letter to the provincial governors (1. 1–6). A peace ensued which lasted not "six entire months." This brings us to November 311 for the revival of persecution by the prohibition of gatherings of Christians in cemeteries (c. 2). During those months, from May to November, Maximin had been busy. Licinius was at Sardica when Galerius died, and he was obviously designated as the ruler of Galerius' dominions. But Maximin, determined to forestall him, marched with his army from Syria, probably from Antioch, through Nicomedia to Chalcedon. In the straits between Chalcedon and Byzantium he had a stormy interview with Licinius. The upshot was a treaty which left Licinius in possession of the European dominions of Galerius, but made Maximin master of the whole of Diocletian's dominions, including Bithynia (Lact., *Mort.* 35; 36. 1, 2; cp. note, p. 267). When the treaty was signed Maximin returned to Nicomedia. Taking into account all the circumstances, this second visit to Nicomedia may be dated with probability September 311. There he stayed for some time (9a. 4). It may be supposed that his journey southwards was delayed for at least several weeks, while he was occupied with state business in his new capital. In this period we must place the petition of the Nicomedians against the Christians, which for the moment he rejected (9a. 5), and the prohibition of cemetery meetings, which we have found reason to date in November, and which may have been intended to show his gratitude to the Nicomedians for their anti-Christian zeal. At length he set out for Antioch. He may have started towards the end of the year. If so his journey would have been slow, interrupted by long halts due to the inclement weather of January and February. He may have postponed his start to the closing weeks of winter. In either case he could hardly have reached Syria before March 312. Then the preparation for the new persecution

began in earnest. The petition from the citizens of Antioch (cc. 2, 3) may have been made in April. It was evidently not presented till some time after the emperor's arrival at the city. Many other petitions followed (4. 1, 2). Plainly they were spread over a considerable period. The rescript in which the petition of each city was granted was doubtless issued shortly after the petition was received. But it seems that all were based on a single norm (7. 1, note). Eusebius gives us as a specimen the rescript to the Tyrians (7. 1–15). Since internal evidence points to its composition in the month of May (7. 10, note), we may conclude that the earliest rescript was dispatched in that month. The rescripts were subsequently inscribed on pillars (7. 1)—a work which must have consumed a considerable time, for they were lengthy documents. We shall therefore not be far from the truth if we place the erection of the earliest of them in June. But, if we may believe Eusebius (7. 16; 8. 1, note), some of them had not reached their destinations before October, and we must conclude that a few of the pillars were set up in the last quarter of 312. The greater number of them must have been erected before the famine, the pestilence and the Armenian war, which synchronized with each other (8. 1–3); for these terrible events signally falsified the glowing picture of peace and prosperity which the rescripts presented. We may perhaps place them about November 312.

Lactantius (*Mort.* 44) tells us that Constantine's victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge (9. 1–7) was achieved on 27 October 312. A panegyrist declares that in a stay of about two months at Rome, which immediately followed, Constantine succeeded in bringing to an end the evils which had accumulated during the six years of Maxentius' reign (*Paneg.* x. 33; cp. Lact., *Mort.* 45. 1). He then went to meet Licinius at Milan. There was composed the famous ordinance of toleration (x. 5. 4; Lact., *Mort.* 48. 2 : see note, p. 309). Eusebius states that it was at once sent to Maximin; and we have no reason to doubt his report (see 9. 12, and note). Now the panegyrist is not likely to have exaggerated the length of Constantine's stay at Rome : he was impressing upon his audience the rapidity with which the Emperor did his work. And a law of Constantine is dated at Rome as late as 18 January 313 (*Cod. Just.* xi. 58. 1). Even if this date is regarded as erroneous, Constantine and Licinius cannot have been together at Milan much before the middle of January 313. The ordinance, which appears to have been one of the first topics which they discussed (x. 5. 4), may be dated in that month. Maximin may have read it before three weeks passed, not later than the middle of February. Shortly afterwards he penned his letter to Sabinus (9. 13). Now at Milan on the same occasion Licinius married Constantia, the

sister of Constantine. Lactantius (*Mort.* 45) tells us that when Maximin received the news of that event (probably through the letter of Constantine which accompanied the ordinance), he started from Syria, marched through Asia Minor, crossed the straits at Chalcedon and invaded the territory of Licinius. About three weeks after he entered Thrace he encountered Licinius, and was defeated in the battle of Campus Serenus on 30 April 313. The interval between the beginning of the march from Antioch and the defeat of Maximin's army must have been more than ten weeks. The army must therefore have set out from Syria not later than 16 February. The letter to Sabinus was probably written before the march commenced (9. 13, note). We may therefore date it in the first fortnight of February 313. This date agrees with the statement of Lactantius that the march was made in very severe winter weather.

The date of Maximin's edict of toleration, and his death, which soon followed it (10. 6), can be fixed with some probability. Maximin died after Licinius, who was still at Nicomedia on 13 June 313 (Lact., *Mort.* 48. 1; 49), had crossed the Taurus. The march from Nicomedia to the Taurus would occupy six or seven weeks. Thus the earliest possible date is August 313. But in the edict Maximin refers to his letter to Sabinus (February 313) as written in the previous year (10. 8). If his year began in September, as is probable (9a. 4, note), the edict was therefore not earlier than September 313. Nor was it much later, for Licinius was still in pursuit of Maximin, who was now at Tarsus, and he would not have delayed his advance so long as to be forced, if any mishap occurred, to re-cross the mountains in the winter. Finally Eusebius states that the edict was issued not a year after the inscription of the rescripts on tablets (10. 12 and note). He obviously wishes to impress his readers with the shortness of the interval which separated the emperor's manifesto in favour of paganism from his downfall. So we may reasonably assume that he refers to the copies of the rescript which had been most lately dispatched—those sent to outlying regions which, according to him, did not come into the hands of their recipients before October (8. 1). Thus the edict seems to have been promulgated in September 313. Maximin died soon afterwards " in the second encounter of the war " (10. 6, 13), perhaps in October.

The dates which we have reached in this note are printed in the margin of the text. The chronology of the book is more fully discussed in *Euseb.*, pp. 211–234. But the composition of the rescript to the cities is there (p. 223) erroneously placed in the month of August. The correction of this error involves some modification of the argument and the resulting dates.

1. 1 *throughout Asia and in the neighbouring provinces*] Asia here is not the province of that name, but one of the dioceses, or groups of provinces, into which Diocletian divided the Empire. The diocese of Asia comprised all the western provinces of Asia Minor, south of Bithynia. This diocese, together with the province of Bithynia (in the neighbouring diocese of Pontus), where the edict was published on 30 April 311 (Lact., *Mort.* 35. 1), was under the rule of Galerius (note, p. 267). The edict must have been suppressed in Bithynia when a few months later it was taken possession of by Maximin (note, p. 287).

gave verbal commands] But see Maximin's own statement in 9a. 7.

the rulers under him] Evidently the high officials who were in close contact with the Emperor—*i.e.* the Prætorian Prefect (cp. § 2) and probably the Magister Militiæ (viii. 4. 3, note). Cp. 9. 13.

districts under him]. See note, p. 267.

to each other in writing] As § 2 shows, Eusebius means that Maximin communicated orally with his chief ministers, and they in writing to the præsides of the provinces.

2 *honoured with the rank*, etc.] *i.e.* Prætorian Prefect.

3–6 This letter is obviously based on the earlier part of the edict of Galerius (viii. 17. 6—9a). But the operative clauses fall far short of those of the edict (viii. 17. 9b, 10). The edicts of persecution are not to be enforced; but Christianity is not made a *religio licita*, there is no permission to build churches, and no "confession" of God such as is implied in Galerius' request for the prayers of the Christians. The letter is omitted in some MSS., perhaps because of its apparent contradiction with the statements of § 1.

3 *our most divine masters*, etc.] The letter is represented as based on an edict of the four emperors, though in fact it was authorized by Maximin alone.

6 *curators . . . duumvirs*] Officials of the cities: see *M.P.* 9. 2. The "magistrates" (cp. § 7) were the governors of the districts connected with the cities. They were evidently subject to the præsides.

8–11 These sections clearly imply that the persecution was generally supposed to have come to an end. Cp. 9a. 10. So viii. 16. 1 (see note) and *M.P.* 13. 5 (S), 11 ff. indicate that it had ceased with the edict of Galerius.

8 *crowded assemblies*] These were probably held in the cemeteries, for few churches were still standing. Cp. c. 2.

9 *whose faith*, etc.] Those who had apostatized.

2. *the tyrant*] Maximin.

six entire months] *i.e.* from the time when Maximin received the Edict of Toleration of Galerius. See note, p. 287.

the cemeteries] Cp. note p. 287, and cp. *M.P.* 11. 15, note.

2. *sent embassies to himself*] Cp. Lact., *Mort.* 36. 3: "He suborned embassies from the cities to make petition that the Christians should not be permitted to build churches within the cities, to the end that he should seem to be compelled and urged to do what he wished to do." The petitions were formally addressed not to Maximin alone but to the three emperors, Maximin, Constantine and Licinius, as we learn from the Arycanda inscription (7. 1, note).

the citizens of Antioch] He had previously received a similar petition from the citizens of Nicomedia (9a. 4–6 and notes).

Theotecnus] See 11. 5, where we learn that he was appointed governor of a province as a reward for his zeal. He is wrongly identified by some writers with a governor of Galatia of the same name (*e.g.* Mason, 235; *D.C.B.* iv. 1011).

his name] It means Child of God.

3. *Zeus Philius*] Zeus the Friendly.

purifications] Theotecnus also appointed priests and prophets (11. 6).

4. 2 *a rescript*] See 6. 4; 7. 1–15.

appointed as priests] Evidently Maximin, who had given order two or three years earlier that the temples should be rebuilt (*M.P.* 9. 2), was now attempting a reform of paganism by giving it a constitution similar to that of the Church. Eusebius has already touched upon his scheme (viii. 14. 9), and Lactantius (*Mort.* 36. 4, 5) has given a fuller account of it, which has the advantage of being written in Latin, and therefore gives us the correct titles of the members of the new pagan hierarchy. Combining our two authorities we can learn what Maximin actually did. He appointed a high priest (*sacerdos maximus*, ἱερεύς) in each city and country district (τόπον, viii. 14. 9), whose duty it was to offer sacrifices daily. In this work the high priest was assisted by the already existing priests (*veteres sacerdotes*). Thus his position was analogous to that of the Christian bishop, who was assisted by his presbyters. The high priests were chosen from the most influential citizens (*ex primoribus*). Over the high priests of each province was placed a pontiff (*quasi pontificus*, ἀρχιερεύς) taken from those who were specially distinguished in state affairs (*ex altiore dignitatis gradu*, οἱ μάλιστα ταῖς πολιτείαις διαπρέψαντες). The pontiffs were no doubt the presidents of the provincial diets (cp. iv. 12; v. 1. 1, notes), now entrusted with more onerous duties. They corresponded to the Christian metropolitans. The high priests and pontiffs wore white robes, indicating their sacerdotal office (Lact.). This hierarchy is a remarkable adumbration of the reform of the ancient cults attempted by the Emperor Julian fifty years later. But while Julian aimed at introducing into paganism not only the Christian hierarchy, but Christian philanthropy and morality (see *D.C.B.* iii. 501), Maximin confined his proposals to external organization. The

aim of both emperors was doubtless to give to the various heathen cults some measure of unity, and the strength which unity produces. It was the unity of Christendom which made it such a formidable force in the Empire. But the place which Eusebius gives to his account of Maximin's scheme—between the petitions of the cities (with which it is also connected by Lactantius) and the forged Acts of Pilate—shows that it was also intended to be an instrument of persecution (cp. viii. 14. 9). This is stated explicitly by Lactantius. The high priests were to prevent the Christians from building churches and from holding assemblies, to compel them to sacrifice, and to bring them before the judges. Their functions were civil as well as religious: they were a police. Accordingly the pontiffs had a military guard (viii. 14. 9).

5. 1 *Memoirs of Pilate*] See i. 9. 3. The words of Eusebius do not imply that the Memoirs were forged for the purpose of being used in the manner here described. But he believed them to be of recent origin (i. 9. 3), and in the present passage he gives us to understand that their authors were among those of whom he speaks in 4. 3, and that they were composed in Maximin's reign and in his dominions. They are mentioned in the *Acta Tarachi*, and perhaps those of Theodotus 23, (Ruinart, p. 346; E. T. Mason, p. 366). These Acts have been regarded as belonging to the year 304; but their dates are uncertain, and there seems to be no reason why they should not be dated as late as 306. They cannot be later than the persecution which began in that year. See Introd., pp. 6, 12. It is quite possible that the Memoirs were written in the period of rest which followed the abdication of Diocletian (9a. 2, note). They would have been useful aids when the attempt was made by "persuasive words" to allure the Christians to paganism. The Memoirs are referred to in the Apology of Lucian (6. 3, note).

2 *dux*] Commander of *Limitanei* (frontier troops).

Phœnicia] This province (Syria Phœnice) included Damascus. See Gibbon i. 452; ii. 170 (map).

6. 1 *sentence of death*] Though since November 311 there had been persecution (c. 2), Christians for some time had not been put to death for the faith. Cp. Lact., *Mort.* 36. 6: "While he made a show of clemency, forbidding the servants of God to be slain, he ordered them to be mutilated."

Silvanus] Cp. viii. 13. 3, 4. The martyrdom of Silvanus is here represented to have taken place in the last persecution of Maximin (note, p. 288), and at the same time as that of Peter (§ 2): *i.e.* late in 312.

2 *Peter*] He seems to have been appointed bishop of Alexandria about October 300 (vii. 32. 31, note). When the persecution died down on the accession of Maximin in 305 (9a. 2, note), and was apparently over, he drew up a series of

Canons (Routh, *R.S.* iv. 23; E.T. *A.N.L.*, xiv. 292) defining the measures to be taken regarding those who had failed in the troubles. These canons were published when "the fourth Easter from the beginning of the persecution" was approaching, *i.e.* shortly before 14 April 306. But in the same year a new persecution edict reached Alexandria (viii. 9. 7, note), and their author, after appointing visitors to supervise his flock (Routh, *R.S.* iv. 92, 94; cp. vii. 32. 31), fled from the city (Sozomen, *H.E.* i. 24), and remained for some time in hiding. This fresh attack on the Church became the occasion of the Meletian schism. Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, invaded the churches of Phileas and other bishops imprisoned at Alexandria, and paid no attention to a remonstrance which they addressed to him (viii. 9. 7, note). After their martyrdom he intruded into Alexandria itself, and Peter from his place of banishment wrote a letter directing him to be regarded as excommunicate. Peter seems to have returned to Alexandria after the publication of Galerius's Edict of Toleration (April 311), which produced a period of peace in the East, which apparently lasted longer in Egypt than elsewhere. The present passage seems to indicate that Peter was the first or one of the first victims of the persecution which followed. The apprehension of the bishop could not have been "unexpected," if the persecution was in full course among his flock. He was beheaded in the ninth year of the persecution (312) (vii. 32. 31), and the date of his martyrdom is recorded in the Syriac Martyrology as November 24.

6. 3 Instead of translating this section, Rufinus gives the following account of the martyrdom of Lucian:

"Lucian too, a man of pre-eminent character, moderation and learning, was brought before the tribunal of the judge, who thus addressed him: 'Why,' said the præses, 'dost thou, a man of reason and prudence, follow a sect of which thou canst give no reason? Or, if there be one, let us hear it.' Then, leave being granted him, Lucian is said to have delivered a speech after this manner concerning our faith:

"'It is no secret that the one God, whom we Christians revere, has been proclaimed to us by Christ and breathed into our hearts by the Holy Spirit. For we are not constrained, as ye imagine, by a deceit of man's persuasion, nor are we beguiled, after the manner of others, by the blind following of the tradition of our fathers. It is God who has taught us concerning God. For His sublime majesty could not be apprehended by the human mind, except it were either conveyed by the power of His Spirit, or indicated and made known by His Word and Wisdom.

"'I confess that there was a time when we too were in error, and supposed that those images, which our own hands had fashioned, were the gods who made the heaven and the

earth; but the fleeting sanctity which we bestowed upon their substance proved that they were not such. Their title to worship was measured by whatsoever beauty the craftsman's art had bestowed upon them. But God Almighty, whom it was not meet that we should fashion with our hands—but rather that we should be His fashioning—took pity on our human error, and sent His Wisdom into this world, clothed in flesh, to teach us that God, who made the heaven and the earth, is not to be sought in things made with hands, but in things eternal and invisible. He also ordained for us laws of life and rules of discipline: to maintain a frugal manner of life, to rejoice in poverty, to study kindliness, to seek for peace, to embrace purity of heart. But all things whatsoever which ye now employ against us, these He foretold would come upon us: that we should be brought before kings, and placed before the tribunals of judges, and slaughtered even as a victim is. Wherefore also He Himself, who as being the Word and Wisdom of God was immortal, gave Himself unto death, that He might bestow upon us who fare [1] in the flesh an example of endurance. Yet He did not deceive us by His death, for whom He rose the third day after: not such as we find Him in those Acts of Pilate, which are now falsely composed, but without guile, spotless and pure, He took upon Him His death for this end alone, that He might conquer it by rising again. Now these things, of which I tell, were not done in a corner, nor do they lack witnesses. Almost the greater part of the world now testifies to the truth of what I say—whole cities, or, if in them there is aught to be suspected, witness is also borne concerning the matter by a band of rustics ignorant of fiction. If still your credence is withheld, I present unto you as a proof the very place itself where the thing was done. That testimony is given by the very place in Jerusalem, and the rock of Golgotha torn asunder under the weight of the Cross, yea and that cave which, after that the gates of the lower regions had been plucked asunder, gave forth again the quickened body, that it might be borne in greater purity to heaven. Or if, still, such things as have their being on earth seem lacking in credit, receive also a faithful witness from heaven. I bring before you as a witness of these things the very sun, who, when he saw them done by impious men on earth, hid his light in the noon-day sky. Search in your annals: you will find that in the times of Pilate when Christ was suffering the sun fled and darkness fell upon the day. But if you place no credence in earth or sky or in the blood of those whom ye torture to secure the truth, how will ye believe my words and that which I affirm?'

"And when with these words he had all but persuaded those that heard him, orders were given that he should be cast in

[1] Reading "positis."

prison and then put to death, seemingly to prevent an uproar among the people."

6. 3 *Lucian*] This Lucian—like his namesake the famous satirist—was born at Samosata, and in early life he studied under an Edessene teacher, named Macarius. He ultimately settled at Antioch, and there he established a school which attained great renown, and was ordained presbyter (Suidas). It is possible that his ordainer was his fellow-townsman, Paul of Samosata (vii. 27; 30). Now Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, in a letter to Alexander, bishop of Byzantium, after stating that the teaching of the Arians was "an imitation of Paul the Samosatene, who [dwelt] at Antioch" and was excommunicated by a synod, declares that "his successor Lucian remained out of the communion of three bishops for many years" (Theodoret, *H.E.* i. 3). From this it might seem that Lucian had adopted, if he did not originate (*E.R.E.* xi. 172), Paul's heretical theology. But there is some difficulty in accepting this conclusion in its entirety. Loofs (pp. 183–186) contends that Alexander regarded Lucian as "successor" to Paul *in the episcopate*—in fact, a rival of the orthodox bishops appointed by Paul's opponents. If so, the Lucian referred to was not the martyr named in the text, who was a presbyter. But Alexander does not give Paul the title of bishop, and the context suggests that by "successor" he means successor as a heresiarch. Thus we need not reject the assumption that he had in view the Antiochene martyr. It is certain, however, that the martyr held opinions which in the hands of his pupils developed into Arianism (Philostorgius, *H.E.* ii. 14), and Arianism, in spite of Alexander's assertion to the contrary, differs essentially from Paulianism. It is therefore improbable that Lucian was a Paulianist in any period of his career. We may, indeed, accept the definite statement that he was out of communion for many years. Nevertheless we must hesitate to believe the reason assigned for his exclusion by Alexander (cp. Bardy, p. 409 ff.). A writer who held that Paulianism and Arianism were cognate heresies might easily conclude that the forerunner of Arius was a disciple of Paul. Lucian's excommunication ended under Cyril, the third successor of Paul in the see of Antioch (vii. 32. 2), who was banished from his see in 303 (vii. 32. 4, note). Cyril became bishop in 280 (Eus., *Chronicle*, p. 306); and it is probable that it was somewhat early in his episcopate that Lucian was restored to communion (Harnack, *Chron.* ii. 139). For his work on the Biblical text, in which he probably collaborated with Dorotheus, like himself a Hebraist (vii. 32. 2), see Swete, pp. 80–85; Westcott and Hort, *N.T. in Greek*, ii. p. 138. He seems to have been imprisoned at Nicomedia in 303 (viii. 6. 6, note). He was martyred at the same place on 7 January (Syriac Martyrology; Chrysostom, *Hom. in S. Lucian.* 2 [*P.G.*

1. 519]), and, as we may infer from the present passage, in the year 313.

6. 3 *the Emperor was then staying*] This statement causes difficulty. It seems to be impossible that Maximin was at Nicomedia in the month of January in 313 (see note, p. 289); and that Lucian suffered in that month can scarcely be doubted. Since Rufinus omits the reference to the emperor both here (see p. 293) and in viii. 13. 2, we may believe that Eusebius has fallen into error.

his defence] Rufinus gives a Latin rendering of the whole or a part of it. See note above.

ruler] ἄρχοντος. Probably the præses (of Bithynia), as Rufinus (see above) understood the word. Cp. *M.P.* (S), 7. 7.

7. 1 *a thing that had never happened before*] For its significance see Cabrol, i. 2, col. 2839 ff. Even the most important edicts were displayed on ordinary writing material. See viii. 5.

rescripts] In spite of this statement it appears that a single rescript (see §§ 2, 3, 15) was drawn up, the copies sent to the several cities being practically identical, saving some clauses which were modified to suit local circumstances (§§ 5, 7, 12, 14, see notes). Moreover, in 1892 an inscription was discovered at Arycanda (Arûf) in Lycia, which contained the petition of the people of Lycia and Pamphylia, and Maximin's reply. From it the full text of the petition has been restored, with the exception of a few words. Of the reply only some broken lines remain, but they correspond almost exactly with the close of the Tyrian inscription (§ 13 f.: "We permit . . . conduct"). See *A.M.S.*, 184, 185; Cabrol, *l.c.*, 2835 f.

brazen tablets] They were sometimes inscribed on stone, as at Arycanda.

Memoirs] See 5. 1.

3 *translation*] In the Arycanda inscription the petition was in Greek, the rescript, as might be expected, in Latin.

at Tyre] Apparently there was no inscription of the rescript at Cæsarea: if there had been one there Eusebius would have translated it rather than the duplicate at Tyre, or he would at least have alluded to it.

7 *even Zeus*] This was doubtless suitable to Tyre, and probably Antioch (c. 3); but it must have been modified in the copies of the rescript sent to many of the cities. The clause cannot have stood in the replies to the petitions from extensive districts, such as Lycia and Pamphylia (§ 1, note).

8 *fearful tremor*] Perhaps an allusion to an earthquake in Phœnicia shortly before the persecution began (*Chronicle*, p. 310.

10 *the crops*] This sentence implies that the rescript was composed in the month of May, as Sir W. M. Ramsay, Professor Macalister, and Mr. R. J. Gabriel of Beirut, tell us.

Cp. Julian (*Orat.* iv. 155c), where he mentions the various times which different nations regard as the proper beginning of the year. Of those who reckon their years from the middle of summer (*i.e.* the last week of June) he says, " the second sort have done this honour to Midsummer Day, as having it then in their power to rejoice securely over the success of their crops : the seed-crops being by this time got in, and the fruit-crops already ripe, and the produce still hanging on the trees now drawing to maturity." Maximin obviously describes the state of the crops about a month earlier.

12 *from your city*, etc.] This clause obviously did not stand in its present form in the Arycanda inscription.

as you requested] Cp. 9a. 4, 6. In agreement with this statement of Maximin is Eusebius' account of the prayer of the Antiochenes, and the other cities that followed their lead (2; 3; 4. 1; 10. 12). To the same effect was the petition of the Lycians and Pamphylians (§ 1, note), that the Christians should be proscribed and their worship suppressed, and that all should be compelled to worship the gods. Lactantius, however (c. 2, note), represents the petitioners as demanding merely that the Christians should be forbidden to build churches.

14 *the granting of which to your city*] Clearly unsuitable to the provincials of Lycia and Pamphylia. The corresponding phrase of the Arycanda stone is missing, but it cannot have been as long as its parallel here. According to one reconstruction it was " data uobis," according to another it was wholly omitted.

our godly piety] The Greek may be rendered either " our " or " your piety." But the Arycanda inscription has *nostram*.

8. 1 *rains*] The " winter rain " might be expected in October. It is a series of passing showers, followed by dry weather. Heavy and continuous rain begins in December or January.

famine] The famine cannot have been due to the failure of the winter rain. Scarcity from that cause would not take place till the harvest of the following year. It was probably the result of excessive taxation. See Lact., *Mort.* 37. 3, 4, quoted in note on viii. 14. 10.

2 *war against the Armenians*] There is no other record of this war. It probably took place in November. In the latter part of December and the two following months war would have been almost impossible. Maximin's army was not in Armenia after January 313 (note, p. 289). Duchesne (*Hist. Ch.* ii. 26) supposes that " the Armenians " were " the inhabitants of the five satrapies beyond the Tigris, annexed to the Empire by the treaty of 297." But the description of them as " allies of the Romans " suits better the independent kingdom of Armenia Major. Armenia had adopted Christianity as its official religion not more than ten or twenty

years before this war. Its apostle, Gregory the Illuminator, was consecrated bishop *c.* 290, and was probably still alive (see Harnack, *Expansion* ii. 199–203, Foakes Jackson, *Hist. of Christ. Church*, 1909, p. 552 ff.). For an earlier mention of Armenian Christians, see vi. 46. 2.

8. 3 *nor even war took place in his time*] No statement to this effect appears in the remaining fragments of the rescript to the cities.

4 *two thousand five hundred Attic drachmas*] An Attic drachma was equivalent to a little less than a shilling, but of far greater purchasing power. The sum mentioned here would therefore be about £100: which seems an impossible charge for a measure of wheat—however large the "measure" may have been.

5 *registers*] Instituted by Galerius (Lact., *Mort.* 23).

13 *boasting*] Cp. § 3.

Christians' zeal] Cp. vii. 22. 7–10.

15 *sufficient chastisement*] Cp. viii. 1. 7–9; *M.P.* 12.

9. 1 *tyrants*] Maxentius and Maximin.

who had not yet become mad] A later addition. Cp. § 12. See Introd., p. 3.

2 *calling in prayer*, etc.] In his *Life of Constantine* (i. 26–31) Eusebius expands this statement into a story which he heard from Constantine himself in later years. He relates that when the Emperor was preparing for his expedition against Maxentius, and had prayed for help to "his father's God," he and his army saw a cross of light in the sky, bearing the inscription BY THIS CONQUER. The following night Christ appeared to him in his sleep with the same sign, and ordered him to make an image of it. This he did at a later time, placing a transverse bar on a spear, and thus making a cross. On the upper limb of the cross were the monogram ☧ encircled by a wreath of gold and gems and, below it, a portrait of the emperor and his children. From the cross-bar there hung a banner. This was the standard known as the Labarum. Lactantius (*Mort.* 44. 5) gives a different story. He omits the appearance of the cross in the sky, and says that in his sleep Constantine was ordered (by whom he does not tell us) to emblazon "the celestial sign" on the shields of the soldiers. Apparently the sacred monogram was depicted thereon.

he advanced] This leaves the impression that Constantine took the initiative. Cp. viii. 14. 5, where Maxentius is described as desirous to avert war (so also Eutropius, x. 4; Victor, *Cæs.* 40. 16). Lactantius (*Mort.* 43. 4, in agreement with *Paneg.* x. 8 ff.) makes Maxentius the aggressor, intent on avenging his father's death (viii. 13. 15, note). Zos. ii. 14, 15 reconciles the two accounts. According to him Maxentius had long sought a pretext for war against Con-

stantine, and, affecting great grief for the death of Maximian, made a plan to invade Gaul. It was after this that Constantine gathered an army for the invasion of Italy. Thus Maxentius provoked the war, but Constantine was the first to take the field. From *Paneg.* ix. 25 we learn that he fought by sea as well as on land.

9. 2 *in full force*] πανστρατιᾷ. If this means that Constantine brought all his forces with him it is incorrect. He left troops to guard the Rhine (*Paneg.* ix. 3); and in fact his army was inferior in numbers to that of Maxentius (Lact., *Mort.* 44. 2; Zos., ii. 15). But probably πανστρατιά is practically equivalent to στρατιά. Cp. J. A. Robinson, *Ephesians*, p. 212, on πανοπλία.

3 *did not dare to advance*] He had received an oracle that if he went outside the gates he would perish (Lact., *Mort.* 44. 1; *Paneg.* ix. 14). Cp. viii. 14. 5.

first, second and third . . . armies] The reference is doubtless to Constantine's victories at Susa, Turin and Verona. See Gibbon i. 417–420. That he obtained the victory in each instance "with ease" is not accurate. He had considerable difficulty at Verona.

4 *far away from the gates*] This is correct. Though the final battle is usually known as the battle of the Milvian Bridge, which was not two miles from the gate, the armies met at Saxa Rubra, nine Roman miles from the city on the Flaminian Way (Vict., *Cæs.* 40. 23). Maxentius was forced (by a sedition in the city: Lact., *Mort.* 44, 7–9) to join his troops.

5 *an engine of destruction for himself*] Eusebius makes his meaning clearer in the parallel passage of the *Life of Constantine* (i. 38). He says that the bridge was so arranged that it would break asunder when Constantine tried to cross it, but that it was broken "before the appointed time." In this he is supported by Zosimus (ii. 15, 16: cp. Vict., *Epit.* 40. 7; *Cæs.* 40. 23). But the story is improbable. Other writers, not in complete agreement with each other, make no reference at all to the bridge of boats (Lact., *Mort.* 44. 9; *Paneg.* ix. 17; *Anon. Vales.* 4. 12); but all agree that Maxentius was drowned in the Tiber.

12 *whose mind*, etc.] Cp. 9. 1.

a most perfect law] The so-called "Edict of Milan." See x. 5. 1–14, and cp. ix. 11. 9.

the tyrant] Maxentius.

and the law itself] Thus the "Edict of Milan," according to Eusebius, was sent to Maximin along with the letter which announced the victory over Maxentius. We may conclude from this that it was issued immediately after the conference between Constantine and Licinius (note, p. 288) had resulted in a plan of concerted action (cp. x. 5. 4, note); for the report of the victory would not have been delayed longer than was necessary. Moreover, Eusebius implies in § 13 and 9a. 12

that the edict was the occasion of the following letter to Sabinus, and was prior to it. There seems to be no good reason for supposing that he was in error. He is in fact confirmed by Lactantius (*Mort.* 37. 1); for he tells us that there was something in the communication sent to Maximin which caused him to mitigate the fury of the persecution. For Allard's objection see 10. 8, note. The present passage is in direct contradiction to Otto Seeck's theory that the law was drawn up at Nicomedia by Licinius after the battle of Campus Serenus (10. 3). For the dates see note, p. 289.

9. 13 *first letter*] Apparently the first after the renewal of the persecution. For the second see 10. 7–11. The present letter was probably intended to achieve a double purpose. Maximin was in the act of inaugurating his expedition againt Licinius (note, p. 288). If it was to have any chance of success two conditions must be fulfilled. His intentions must be concealed from the other emperors, and his Christian subjects must be placated. The letter was calculated in some measure to attain both ends. The Christians, warned by experience, might have little faith in his promises (9a. 10, 11), but they would perhaps abstain from impeding his preparations. His letter seems certainly to have deceived Licinius, for he apparently knew nothing of his danger, till reports reached him that Maximin was actually in Thrace and besieging Byzantium; and he was forced to encounter his enemy with an inadequate army (Lact., *Mort.* 45, 5. 6). If the purpose of the letter was such as we suppose, it must have been issued before Maximin started upon his expedition to Thrace; *i.e.* about 10 February 313. Cp. note, p. 289.

the governors under him] The Prætorian Prefect Sabinus and the Magister Militiæ. Only the letter to Sabinus is preserved. Cp. 1. 1, note.

belies himself] See 9a. 3, note.

9a. 1 *Jovius*] This title was assumed by Diocletian, Maximian being dubbed Herculius. Maximin, who claimed to be first Augustus, imitates the style of Diocletian (cp. Lact., *Mort.* 52. 3).

Diocletian and Maximian] See viii. 2. 4, 5; 6. 10; *M.P.* (S) Pref., 3. 1.

the nation of the Christians] Cp. i. 4. 2, note.

2 *came . . . to the East*] Maximin was an Illyrian. He was almost unknown when he was made Cæsar in 305 (Lact., *Mort.* 19. 5, 6). Cp. note, p. 266.

I gave orders] This statement is probably true. No act of persecution is recorded in Palestine between the accession of Maximin and the issue of the rescript under which Apphianus suffered on 2 April 306 (*M.P.* 4. 8–15). Lactantius (*Mort.* 36. 6), speaking of the period following the Edict of Galerius (see above 1. 7–11), writes, " He was preparing to do *as he*

had done long before in the parts of the East. For while he ostensibly professed peace and *forbade the servants of God to be slain*, he ordered them to be mutilated." This proves that long before 311 Maximin had for a season suspended the operation of the Fourth Edict. It must have been prior to the bloody persecution of 306–311. And it is clear that in Egypt, in the first half of the year 306, when Peter bishop of Alexandria put forth canons with a view to the reorganization of the Church (Routh, *R.S.* iv. 23; E.T., *A.N.L.* xiv. 292: cp. above, 6. 2, note), the Christians had at least comparative peace. See Allard, ii. 31 ff.

9a. 3 *was recalled*] An evident untruth. It is accompanied by a *suppressio veri:* the persecution which began in 306 is absolutely ignored.

4 *last year*] This is probably the visit of Maximin in or before November 311, when the persecution was renewed after six months' rest (c. 2). But November 311 could not be described as "last year" if the year began in January. The difficulty is removed if we assume that the year was regarded as beginning in September, as was usual in the East. If so, the visit cannot have been earlier than September 311. Cp. note, p. 287 and 10. 8, note. This hypothesis is the more easily accepted because the letter before us was evidently intended to catch the popular ear. But it is not impossible that Maximin himself, though a Roman emperor, reckoned his years from September. It must be remembered that Maximin throughout his reign had little contact with the West.

came to me citizens] Maximin, like Eusebius (cp. 2) and Lactantius (*Mort.* 36. 3), connects the renewed persecution with the petitions from the cities. But this passage seems to indicate that Nicomedia was the first city to present a petition (cp. § 6), while Eusebius gives the doubtful honour to Antioch (4. 1). The contradiction is only apparent. The Nicomedian petition was for a time rejected. The petition from Antioch was the first to be granted, and it set the fashion for other cities.

a nation] Cp. i. 4. 2, note.

6 *that no Christian*, etc.] Cp. § 4. See 7. 12, note.

7 *letters . . . ordinances*] The "ordinances" are apparently unwritten communications. But that Maximin wrote letters on this subject to Sabinus is denied by Eusebius: see 1. 1.

beneficiarii] This title was given to military officers of high rank. In this passage it seems to mean officers in the entourage of a provincial governor. See Marquardt-Mommsen, v. 549. Under Maximian a centurion and a beneficiarius were sent to Secundus, primate of Numidia, to demand the Scriptures from him (Aug., *Brev. Coll.* iii. 25). Similarly in 259 Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona, and his companions

were brought before the præses by six beneficiarii (Ruinart, p. 219).

9a. 9 *to observe carefully*, etc.] The concession of the letter to the governors (1. 5; cp. §§ 2, 5) is confirmed, without the addition of any further privilege.

10 *on a former occasion*] See c. 2.

12 *allow this*] 9. 12. Cp. x. 5. 6, note.

10. 1 *style himself first in rank*] Cp. 9a. 1, note; viii. 13. 15.

2 *breaking the treaty*] "Though he had lately confirmed friendship with" Licinius (Lact., *Mort.* 43. 2). Cp. Lact., *Mort.* 36. 1. 2 and note above. p. 287.

raised an internecine war] He rushed across Asia Minor and invaded Thrace. See the graphic account in Lact., *Mort.* 45–47. Cp. note, p. 289.

hopes he placed in demons] Cp. § 6.

3 *he joined battle*] At Campus Serenus, about 24 miles from Perinthus-Heraclea, on the road to Adrianople, on 30 April 313.

who was then ruling] The word "then," if not the whole phrase, is a later insertion. Introd., p. 3.

4 Eusebius here adds two details not mentioned by Lactantius —the slaughter of the armed soldiers, and the desertion of the imperial guard. On the other hand Lactantius tells us that when Maximin laid aside the purple he fled in the guise of a slave (so Eus. *V.C.* i. 58), and that when he reached Cappadocia he resumed his regalia, and collected a fresh army.

6 *to his own territory*] That is, the diocese of Pontus (in which was the province of Cappadocia : see previous note), or Cilicia, which was in the diocese of the East (note, p. 267). He ultimately took refuge at Tarsus. Eusebius here leaves the impression that there was no fighting after the rout at Campus Serenus. But in fact Maximin fortified the passes of the Taurus mountains; and when Licinius broke through his defences he fled to Tarsus, where he was blockaded by land and sea (Lact., *Mort.* 49. 1, 2). According to Zosimus (ii. 17) he had intended to go to Egypt to collect troops. Cp. §§ 13, 14, notes.

put to death many priests, etc.] Lactantius knows nothing of this.

oracles] Cp. viii. 14. 8.

drew up a law] The edict was issued before Maximin was struck down by illness (§ 13); and it can hardly have been written after his flight from the Taurus mountains, when his cause was hopeless (Lact., *Mort.* 49. 2). It may be assigned to the earlier period when he was constructing the forts in the Taurus. The word "straightway" must not be pressed too far.

8 *abolishment of the Christian assemblies*] This clause of the First Edict (viii. 2. 4) is not mentioned by Lactantius or

Eusebius. But it is referred to in the Passion of St. Philip, bishop of Heraclea. The præses asked him (§ 4, Ruinart, p. 411), "Hast thou not heard of the law of the emperor that Christians are not to hold assemblies?" It is possible that the edict permitted confiscation of the churches (§ 11 below, and x. 5. 9, 17; *M.P.* 11. 28) in cases in which the prohibition of the assembles could be achieved without resort to more drastic action. The church at Heraclea was not pulled down, but merely closed against the Christians and dismantled of ornaments (Ruinart, *l.c.* §§ 3, 5).

10. 8 *by the officials*] Cp. § 9. On his death-bed Maximin pleaded that the evil deeds ascribed to him were done by others (Lact., *Mort.* 49. 6). The "officials" were the civil servants who constituted the staff of a minister or governor (Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i. 29).

a letter] The letter to Sabinus (c. 9a).

last year] We have seen that, according to the statements of Eusebius, the letter to Sabinus was written in 313 (note, p. 288). If the year began in January we are therefore obliged to suppose that Maximin's final edict was issued in 314. But this is almost impossible, if for no other reason than that it involves the assumption of incredible dilatoriness on the part of Licinius. Allard (ii. 270, note) cuts the knot by rejecting the evidence of Eusebius (9. 12 f.) that the letter followed the Ordinance of Milan, and places it in 312. But an easier way of avoiding the difficulty is open. If the year began in September 313 (cp. 9a. 4, note), an edict written in that month might refer to a document of February 313 as of "last year." That Licinius cannot have begun his operations in the Taurus (§ 6, note) before August is certain (note, p. 289); that he may have delayed them to September is possible: but it is most unlikely that he would have attempted to storm the almost impregnable mountain passes as late in the year as October. Thus the edict may be dated in September 313.

laying it down, etc.] See 9a. 7–9. There is no mention here of the instruction that the governors should by "persuasive words" cause the Christians to "recognize the attention they owe to the gods."

10 *to build the Lord's houses*] This new concession, as well as that granted in § 11, is plainly taken from the "Edict of Milan" (x. 5. 6, note, 9–11).

12 *less than a whole year*] That is, from October 312 to September 313. See note, p. 289. To what is said there we may add that if the interval had been less, in a rhetorical passage like the present (which emphasizes its shortness) Eusebius would have written "less than so many months" rather than "less than a year."

13 *a stroke of God*] Lactantius (*Mort.* 49. 3) says that Maximin committed suicide by poison which acted slowly. Eusebius

does not mention this, and the present phrase, repeated in § 14, seems to contradict it. Cp. " divinely-sent fire " (§ 14).

10. 13 *second encounter*] This shows that Eusebius was aware that the two armies were engaged shortly before Maximin died. Thus the false impression conveyed in § 6 (see note) is corrected.

14 *while his army was still stationed*] It is implied that Maximin had a second time deserted his army. This is consistent with the story told by Lactantius (§ 6, note), if we suppose that he fled from the Taurus before Licinius' victory was actually completed.

15 *his eyes projected*] So Lact., *Mort.* 49. 5.

making confession to the Lord] So Lact., *Mort.* 49. 6.

11. 2 *portraits*] Some of them remained, mutilated, half a century later (Greg. Naz., *Adv. Julian. Invect.* i. 96, *P.G.*, xxxv. 629; E.T., C. W. King, *Julian*, p. 63).

4 *Peucetius*] Apparently not mentioned elsewhere.

Culcianus] We learn from *Oxyr. Pap.* (i. No. 71; viii. 1104) that Clodius Culcianus was Prefect of Egypt in February 303, and was still in office at the end of May 306. He condemned Phileas and Philoromus to death, apparently in February, 307 (viii. 9. 7, note), and was succeeded by Hierocles soon afterwards (*M.P.* 5. 3). Eusebius seems to think that he was appointed Prefect by Maximin, which is certainly not the case.

5 *Theotecnus*] See cc. 2, 3.

governorship] Probably he was made præses of Cœle Syria, of which Antioch was the capital; for he was curator of that city (c. 2).

6 *they revealed*, etc.] Their statements were recorded in the Acts (ὑπομνήματα) of the examination, which Eusebius had apparently seen (*Præp. Ev.* iv. 2).

7 *sons of Maximin*] This seems to imply that Maximin had several sons, to whom he had given the title of Cæsar. Lactantius, however (*Mort.* 50. 6), credits Licinius with having slain only two children of Maximin—a son (*filium maximum*, *i.e.* " his son Maximus " or " his eldest son ") of eight years of age, and a daughter of seven.

boasted kinship] This phrase may perhaps include Diocletian's widow, Prisca, his daughter, Valeria, Galerius' son, Candidian, and Maximin's widow, all of whom, together with Severianus, son of the emperor Severus (note, p. 267), were put to death by the order of Licinius (Lact., *Mort.* 50, 51).

9 *Thus verily*, etc.] For this paragraph two important Greek MSS. and the Syriac version substitute the sentence printed in the footnote, which is identical with x. 1. 1. The passage as printed in the text re-appears, *mutatis mutandis*, at the close of Book x. Cp. Introd., p. 3.

11. 9 *by their enactment*] διὰ τῆς . . . νομοθεσίας. This must be the "most perfect law (νόμος)" of 9. 12, the "Edict of Milan," which now appears in c. 5 of Book x. We may conclude that it originally followed this section as the close of the book. In like manner the Edict of Galerius formed the conclusion both of Book viii and of the *Martyrs of Palestine* (*M.P.* (S), 13. 14, note).

BOOK X.

1. 2 *tome*] See vi. 24. 1, third note.

Paulinus] That Eusebius had a great admiration for Paulinus (to whom he dedicated his *Onomasticon* as well as this book) is shown by the extravagant language in which he extolled him in his discourse at Tyre (c. 4). Both he and Eusebius belonged to a group of bishops—which included also Theodotus of Laodicea (vii. 32. 23)—whom Arius declared to have been anathematized by Alexander of Alexandria for their heretical doctrine (Theodoret, *H.E.* i. 4). But Paulinus seems to have been more cautious in his pronouncements than some of his friends; for Eusebius of Nicomedia, in a letter addressed to him (*ib.* 5), contrasts the zeal of Eusebius of Cæsarea with his silence. Paulinus was bishop of Tyre in 313 (4. 1, 16, notes), and probably earlier (4. 24). Eusebius tells us that he was subsequently translated to his native city of Antioch (*c. Marcell.* i. 4, p. 19). He did not appear as the bishop of either of these cities at the Council of Nicæa (see C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiæ Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, i, pp. 46, 48); and we may therefore conclude that he died before June 325. Since he was still at Tyre after the death of Licinius about the end of 324 (Theodoret, *H.E.* i. 1, 4, 5), the statement of Philostorgius (*H.E.* iii. 15), that his Antiochene episcopate lasted only six months, is probably correct.

2. 2 *enactments*] It is remarkable that of the six ordinances of the "emperors" (cp. 5. 1), translated in cc. 5–7, only one bears the name of Licinius. It was the ordinance of Milan, published in the East on 13 June 313 (5. 2–14, note). The others run in the name of Constantine, and have to do with Africa, which was in his dominions. Eusebius was under the rule of Licinius, and if ordinances favourable to the Church had been issued by him, he must have known of them, and would have quoted at least some of them. We may infer that Licinius did not, after June 313, show favour to the Christians.

personal letters] See 5. 18–24; 6.

gifts of money] See c. 6.

3. 1 *After this*] This note of time seems to indicate that the building of new churches (2. 1) began shortly after the publication of the ordinance of Milan.

4 *panegyrical orations*] The panegyrical discourse, delivered at the dedication of the church at Tyre (c. 4), is the principal feature of the book, of which it forms more than half.

4. 1 *a certain one*] Obviously Eusebius himself. The preacher was almost certainly a bishop. We may therefore infer that Eusebius was now bishop of Cæsarea.

the following oration] It is difficult to determine when this discourse was delivered. In § 16 Constantine and Licinius are described as close allies and friends, and avowed Christians. In § 60 we find similar language : the two emperors are alike " men most dearly beloved of God." It is clear that the orator could not have spoken thus while Constantine and Licinius were at war with each other towards the end of 314 (note, p. 268). The church at Tyre must have been dedicated either before October 314 or after the treaty of the following December. But we might have expected less adulation of the defeated emperor in 315, in spite of the fact that he was ostensibly on good terms with Constantine. He was in fact little known in the East before his victory over Maximin. But it must have been manifest, as time went on, that he was not an enthusiastic Christian (cp. 2. 2, note). Moreover, his vices and ill-government (8. 11–13) were obviously notorious long before he became a persecutor in 319 (8. 10 and note). A man of such character could not be styled " most dearly beloved of God." It would seem, therefore, that the dedication took place before October 314 rather than in 315. Yet, on other grounds, it is not easy to accept the earlier date. Allowing for exaggeration in the panegyric, the new church was a building, large and ornate. Could it have been ready for dedication, say in September 314? After the letter to Sabinus in February 313 (ix. 9a. 1–9) the banished Christians may have returned to Tyre with their bishop (but see ix. 9a. 10, 11), and indulgent officials may have allowed them to clear the site. Plans of the structure would be prepared at the same time. Rumours of the victory of Licinius at Campus Serenus on 30 April (ix. 10. 3), and the publication of the " Edict of Milan " on 13 June at Nicomedia, may have made a beginning of the building feasible. The whole Christian community gave their hands and their money to the task (§§ 20, 21, 27, 42). And zeal works wonders. Perhaps the period of fifteen months, from July 313 to September 314, may after all have sufficed for the erection of the Lord's house great and fair. With some doubt, therefore, we suppose the panegyric to have been uttered in September 314.

a single bishop] Paulinus. Cp. §§ 2 f.

16 *the mosi exalted Emperors*] Constantine and Licinius. The passage implies that they were in complete accord (cp. § 60), and that both were Christians. This is an exaggeration in regard to Licinius, but it gives good ground for supposing that the oration was delivered before the war of the autumn of 314 (note, p. 268).

on tablets, etc.] This must apply to Constantine only.

The eastern emperor would hardly set up inscriptions at Rome (" the city that is Empress "). Cp. ix. 9. 10, 11.

4. 19 *a nation*] Cp. i. 4. 2, note.

21 *not only of that old building*, etc.] Eusebius seems to mean " not only of the Jews but also of the heathen."

23 *one alone*] Paulinus.

24 *first . . . second place*] A figure taken from the Holy of Holies and the Holy Place of the Temple. Only Christ, the High Priest, enters the first, Paulinus, as an inferior priest, enters the second.

25 *this one*] Paulinus.

whatsoever he seeth Him doing, etc.] Paulinus was guided by the principle that the material church-building should be an image of the Church of God. Accordingly, since Christ did not found a new Church after the persecution, but revived the old (§§ 31–36), he resolved to re-edify the old building on the original site (§§ 26 f., 36).

27 *the first contest*] By clearing the site.

28–30 Christ clears the ground for the restoration of the spiritual building. In like manner Paulinus clears the ground for the restoration of the material building (§ 27).

31 *her who was deserted*] ἔρημος. The persecuted Church. Cp. § 47. Eusebius apparently takes the "desert" of Isai. xxxv. 1 as a type of it. Cp. Gregory of Nazianzus, *First Invective against Julian*, § 16 : " *Let the desert rejoice* . . . that is, the Church, which but yesterday seemed a widow, and husbandless, as well as everyone that was withered up by the envious and joyless winter of ungodliness."

33 *whose books also they destroyed*] Cp. viii. 2. 1, 4.

34 *corrected in due measure*] Cp. viii. 1. 7–9; ix. 8. 15.

35 *waxed numb*] Those who failed in the persecution. Cp. viii. 3. 1; ix. 1. 9.

7–45 On the description of the church here given by Eusebius —the earliest account of the structure and furniture of a Christian church which we possess—see *D.C.A.* i. 368 f. Possibly the Crusaders' Church, founded about 1200, was on the same site : " its magnificent columns of rose-coloured granite, now prostrate . . . may have belonged to the fourth-century church " (*Enc. Brit.*, eleventh edition, xxvii. 549).

43 *loftiness*] The height of the eastern arch of the Crusaders' church was not less than 80 feet (*ib.*).

cedars of Lebanon] The ceiling.

45 *chambers*, etc.] Probably the " colonnades " of § 42.

the openings] Apparently openings to admit light. See § 42.

57–68 Comparison of the material church with the spiritual Temple (those who worship in it).

58 The destruction of the Temple. Cp. § 33.

4. 59 The restoration. Cp. §§ 25 f., 34–36.
60 f. The clearing of the site. Cp. § 26 f.
61 *ruler*] Paulinus.
61, 62 The building. Cp. § 28.
63 *a wall*] Cp. § 37.
entrances] Cp. § 38.
quadrangular courtyard] Cp. § 39 f.
others he joineth] Cp. §§ 42, 45.
64 *apertures towards the light*] Cp. §§ 42, 45.
65 *gateway*] Cp. § 41. For the thought see the *Testament of our Lord* (E.T. by Cooper and Maclean, 1902), i. 19, where it is laid down that a church should "have three entrances as a type of the Trinity."
the whole house] Cp. §§ 42–44.
66 *thrones*, etc.] Cp. § 44.
67 *ruler*] Paulinus.
those who take the second place] The presbyters?
68 *altar*] Cp. § 44.
common priest] Paulinus.

Note on the "Edict of Milan."

The document quoted in x. 5. 2–14 is not an edict, though it has often been so called, for it is addressed to an individual, to wit, a governor (cp. Lact., *Mort.* 48. 1), by whose edict it was to be made known to the people of his province. It is therefore a rescript; and it seems to have been described as such in the Latin text which lay before Eusebius (5. 6). Accordingly it is elsewhere referred to by such terms as διάταξις (5. 1), νομοθεσία (ix. 11. 9; x. 5. 14), νόμος (ix. 9. 12), γράμμα (*V.C.* i. 41), *literæ* (Lact., *Mort.* 48. 1), *scripta*, *sanctio* (*ib.* 48. 12); but the words πρόγραμμα, *edictum* are never applied to it. That it—or a document substantially identical with it—was drawn up in January 313 by Constantine and Licinius at Milan is certain (ix. 9. 12; x. 5. 4; note, p. 288).

Was it based on an edict issued by the two emperors on the occasion of their conference at that place? That supposition is highly improbable. Such an edict, if it existed, must have included explicit provisions, which are no doubt assumed, but are not definitely referred to, in our rescript. Such, for example, would be the permission to build churches, to the omission of which in the ordinances of Maximin Eusebius calls attention (ix. 9a. 11). If Eusebius had known of an edict of toleration issued by Constantine, containing such provisions, he would have given a translation of it, rather than of the rescript. He could have had no difficulty in procuring a copy of it, if not before Book ix was published,

at any rate before Book x was written. But neither in that book nor in his *Life of Constantine* does he make mention of such an edict. We must therefore assume that at Milan Constantine and Licinius drew up, not an edict, but a norm for instructions to governors, which might be copied, with perhaps some variations in detail, and sent to the various provinces. One redaction of that norm was translated by Eusebius, another was transcribed by Lactantius (*Mort.* 48). We have a similar phenomenon in the rescript of Maximin to the cities, which appears in slightly different forms in the inscriptions at Tyre and Arycanda (ix. 7. 1, 5, 7, 12, notes).

We do not possess the full text of the Milan rescript. No doubt it had a superscription which contained the names of the three reigning emperors, in spite of the fact that Maximin had no part in its composition (cp. Otto Seeck in *Z.K.G.* xii. 381 ff.). The superscription is not given either by Lactantius or by Eusebius. Lactantius also omits a portion of the preamble which Eusebius preserves (5. 2, 3). It is possible that this omission was due to Licinius himself, who may have thought it unnecessary to publish the entire document.

The rescript of Constantine and Licinius, as we have it, refers to a previous rescript put forth by imperial authority, which, while granting religious liberty, laid down certain restraining "conditions" (5. 2, 3). Lower down, these conditions are said to have been contained in an earlier imperial document (γράμμασιν, scripta) sent to the governor (§ 6, see note). These statements point back to the "other letter" to the præsides, mentioned in the Edict of Galerius (viii. 17. 9, notes). Thus we may conclude that our rescript was based on, and supplementary to, that edict. Its purpose was to explain doubtful phrases therein, and to abrogate the conditions contained in the instructions which accompanied it. It was a supplement which enlarged the scope of the original edict, and made it much more favourable to the Christians.

5. 1 *imperial ordinances*] This phrase in the first sentence seems clearly to mean all the ordinances included in this and the following chapters. If so, the words "Copy" etc. must be a heading applying to the whole series. Thus there is no special title of the first.

2–14 This rescript is stated by Lactantius (*Mort.* 48. 1) to have been delivered by Licinius to the governor (*præses*) of Bithynia, and published at Nicomedia on 13 June 313. That it contains at least the substance of an ordinance composed at Milan earlier in that year is intimated in the document itself (§ 4; cp. note, p. 288); and it probably for the most part reproduces its text. The original Latin of §§ 4–14 is preserved by Lactantius (*Mort.* 48. 2–12). The following is a translation of it:

"When I, Constantine Augustus, as also I, Licinius Augustus, had met together under happy auspices at Milan, and were holding consideration of all such matters as concerned the public advantage and security, among the other things that seemed to be of benefit to the many—or indeed first and foremost—we thought[1] it right to set in order those matters by which reverence for the Divinity was maintained, by granting both to the Christians and to all full authority to follow whatever religion each one pleased, to the intent that whatsoever Divinity[2] dwells in heaven may be appeased and propitious to us and all who are placed under our authority. Therefore with sound and most upright reasoning we thought it good thus to determine that, in our opinion, facility should be refused to no one whatever, who gives up his mind either to the observance of the Christians, or to that religion which he personally feels best suited to himself; to the intent that the supreme Divinity, whose religion we follow of our own free will, may in all things afford us his wonted favour and goodwill. Wherefore thy Devotedness should know that it is our pleasure to abolish all conditions whatever which appeared in former documents sent to thy Duty with regard to the Christians, that every one of those who have a like desire to observe the religion of the Christians may now make it his aim to observe that very thing freely[3] and simply, without any disturbance or molestation. Which things we thought good to convey in the fullest manner to thy Carefulness, that thou mightest know that we have granted to the said Christians free and unrestricted facility to practise their religion. And when thou perceivest that we have bestowed this indulgence upon the said persons, thy Devotedness understands that to others also unreserved and free power to follow their own religion or observance has in like manner been conceded, in accordance with the peacefulness of our times; so that each one may have free facility to practise the worship of his choice; [which thing has been done by us, that] nothing [should seem to have been detracted from any] rite or from any religion by us.[4]

"And this, moreover, with special regard to the Christians, we have deemed it fit to ordain: that if any should appear to have bought, whether from our treasury or from any other source whatever, the places at which it was their former wont to assemble, concerning which also in a letter sent to thy Duty a fixed form of procedure had been laid down before now,—they should restore the same to the Christians without

[1] So the Gk. of Eus.; the Latin has the present tense.
[2] Reading, with the Gk., quo quicquid est divinitatis.
[3] Following the Gk.; the Lat. is unintelligible.
[4] The Lat. is defective in this clause, which has been thus completed by Brandt.

money or without any other demand for compensation, setting aside all delay and doubtfulness. Those also who have acquired them by gift shall restore them in like manner to the said Christians with all speed; moreover, those who either have bought them or have acquired them by gift, if they seek [1] aught from our benevolence, should apply to the vicarius, so that for their interests also thought may be taken by our clemency. All these things must be handed over forthwith to the corporation of the Christians by thy intervention and without delay. And inasmuch as the said Christians are known to have had not only those places at which it was their wont to assemble, but others as well, belonging not to individuals but to the lawful property of their corporation, that is, of the churches, all these thou shalt give orders, under the provisions of the law set forth above,[2] to be given back without any doubtfulness or dispute to the said Christians, that is, to their corporation and assemblies; provided always, of course, as aforesaid, that they who restore the same without compensation, as we said, may look for indemnification from our benevolence.

"In all these things thou shouldest use thy most effective intervention on behalf of the aforesaid corporation of the Christians, that our command may be fulfilled with all speed; so that in this also by our clemency thought may be taken for the public quiet. So far we will ensure that, as was stated above, the divine favour towards us, which we have [already] experienced in so many matters, shall continue for all time to bestow upon us prosperity and success together with happiness for the state. But that the form which this enactment of our benevolence takes may come to the knowledge of all, it will be thy duty both to publish everywhere and to bring before the notice of all this document, citing it in an edict of thy own,[3] to the intent that the enactment of this our benevolence may not be hidden."

5. 2 *we had given orders*] This refers to the Edict of Galerius (viii. 17. 3 ff.). Cp. viii. 17. 6, note.

3 *conditions*] αἱρέσεις. This word is used to translate *conditionibus* in § 6. For these conditions see viii. 17. 9, and notes.

rescript] This word seems to imply that the conditions in view are not so much the provision in the Edict of Galerius that the Christians should do nothing contrary to Roman order, but rather those contained in the lost letter to the judges (viii. 17. 9).

4 *at Milan*] See note, p. 288.

[1] Reading, with the Gk., "petiverint" (Lat. "putaverint").

[2] Lege quam (Lat. qua; Gk. ὅν) superius comprehendimus.

[3] Prolata programmate tuo; but the reading is uncertain: Lat. prælata, *a.l.* prolato.

first and foremost] The question of religious policy is here described as the most pressing topic of discussion. We may fairly conclude that it was the subject which first engaged the Emperors at Milan. If so, the ordinance of toleration was probably issued a few days after Constantine's departure from Rome. See note, p. 288.

5. 5 *Divinity*] Lactantius's text adds, "whose religion we follow of our own free will." Eusebius may have omitted the clause, because it seemed to imply that Constantine and Licinius were at one in their theological opinions. But see 4. 16.

6–13 These sections deal almost wholly with concessions to the Christians. In §§ 2–5 Christians are on a par with Pagans.

6 *to send a rescript*] ἀντιγράψαι. Lactantius has, "wherefore thy Devotedness should know." But probably Eusebius correctly rendered the Latin which lay before him.

those conditions . . . removed] The privileges granted by Galerius (viii. 17. 9) are to hold good, the conditions which restricted them being rescinded.

letters sent to thy Devotedness] The Edict of Galerius, and no doubt with it the letter to the præsides (viii. 17. 9), had been promulgated in the provinces of Asia Minor which had been ruled by Galerius (ix. 1. 1). In that district the edict was subsequently suppressed by Maximin. Seeck (*Z.K.G.* xii. 385) seems to overlook these facts when he assumes that the letters here mentioned emanated from Maximin.

those things also which seemed . . . might be removed and that] These words are regared by Schwartz as an interpolation; but Brandt considers, on the contrary, that the Latin is defective, and makes an insertion accordingly in the text of Lactantius.

9–11 The provisions regarding the restoration of the property of the Church which had been alienated in the persecution of Diocletian, or, as it seems, any previous persecution, have no parallel in the Edict of Galerius. Without them Christianity would have been left in a position distinctly inferior to that of paganism. Maxentius had already restored the confiscated property of the Roman church. See viii. 14. 1, note.

9 *definite ordinance*] For it see viii. 17. 9; ix. 10. 11. Cp. vii. 13, fourth note.

any other source] This is explained by ix. 10. 11 to mean "from any city." Cp. § 16.

14 *by thy order*] Latin: *programmate tuo, i.e.* "by thy edict." An imperial rescript was commonly communicated to the people of a province by an edict of the governor.

Note on x. 5. 15–7. 2.

The five documents of which Eusebius here gives translations are of importance for the history of the African Church, and in particular for the Donatist schism, which is not explicitly mentioned in the *History*. To make them intelligible a short account of the beginnings of the schism is necessary. When the persecution of Diocletian began Mensurius was bishop of Carthage. With the help of his archdeacon, Cæcilian, he discountenanced the extravagant enthusiasm for martyrdom which was rife among the Africans, and thereby incurred considerable unpopularity. In 311 Mensurius was summoned to Rome by Maxentius, and died on his journey back to Carthage. The persecution of that year having been brought to an end by Maxentius, Cæcilian was elected bishop, and was consecrated by Felix, bishop of Aptunga (Optatus i. 17, 18; cp. viii. 14. 1, note). The Numidian bishops had been ignored at the election. Seventy of them soon afterwards came to Carthage and held a synod. They stated that Felix had been a traditor (which was certainly untrue), and declared that in consequence the consecration of Cæcilian was invalid. A rival bishop of Carthage, Majorinus by name, was consecrated. Thus there was a formal schism; and it spread rapidly throughout Africa, rival bishops being consecrated for many other sees. Majorinus, the nominal head of the schism, was an insignificant person. In the early days, apparently before the end of his short episcopate, Donatus, Bishop of Casæ Nigræ, was the real leader. Majorinus was succeeded by another Donatus, surnamed "the Great." From one of these bishops—probably, as it seems St. Augustine thought (*Hær.* 69), Donatus of Casæ Nigræ—the sect took its name.

Early in 313 Constantine wrote a letter to Anulinus, proconsul of Africa (c. 7), which granted immunity from the burdens of civil office to the clergy. It seems that at the time he was unaware of the schism (Optatus i. 22). But in his letter it was expressly stated that the immunity was granted to "the catholic church over which Cæcilian presides." Whatever he may have meant by that phrase (see 7. 2, note), in Africa it could only be understood as debarring the Donatists from a share in the indulgence. Accordingly they sent two "libelli" through Anulinus to the Emperor, bringing various charges against Cæcilian (Aug. *Ep.* 88. 2). With the libelli there was a petition that their case might be heard by judges from Gaul, on the ground that it was the only part of the Empire in which there had been no persecution (Optatus i. 22). The covering letter of Anulinus is dated 15 April 313. Constantine granted the petition, stipulating that ten bishops should be sent from Africa in support of Cæcilian, and ten in support of the Donat-

ists. To this arrangement the Donatists assented (5. 19, note). The result was the Council at Rome, 2 October 313, presided over by Pope Miltiades (Optatus i. 23; cp. 5. 18—20). There the case of the Donatists broke down, and judgement was given in favour of Cæcilian (Optatus i. 24). But, nothing daunted, the schismatics again appealed to the Emperor, demanding a fresh hearing. The bishops at the Roman Council, they affirmed, were few, and the case had neither been fully heard nor fairly adjudicated (5. 22 and note). Constantine thought it politic to accede to this request; and a much larger council assembled at Arles, on 1 August 314 (cp. 5. 21–24), at which the Donatists were again defeated (August. *Ep.* 88. 3). But once more the Donatists appealed; and the emperor himself heard the case at Milan. His decision (10 November 316) upheld the previous judgement. Subsequently he issued a very severe law against the Donatists (August. *Epp.* 43. 5, 20; 105. 8 f.; Routh, *R.S.* iv. 317 ff). It is not necessary for our purpose to continue the story. But it may be added that Cæcilian retained the see of Carthage till his death, about 345.

5. 15 *to the Catholic Church alone*] Eusebius clearly means that the Donatists were excluded from the benefit conferred in the following letter. But see § 16, note. The letter cannot have been written before the battle of the Milvian Bridge, after which Africa became subject to Constantine. Judging from its contents it may be dated shortly after the ordinance of Milan (cp. §§ 9–11)—*i.e.* about January 313, and before Constantine had heard of the Donatist schism (7. 1, note).

Anulinus] Proconsul of Africa (§ 18). He was in office in June 303, as we learn from the Acts of Felix of Tibiura (Ruinart p. 355). His proconsulate ended in 313 or 314, when he was succeeded by Ælianus (*Purgatio Felicis*, Routh, *R.S.* iv. 286 ff.). Thus he was proconsul throughout the whole period of the persecution. He seems to have taken a somewhat lenient view of his duty regarding the edicts of persecution (Aug., *Brev. Coll.* iii. 25).

16 *the Catholic Church of the Christians*] Eusebius (§ 15) takes this to mean the adherents of Cæcilian (cp. 7. 2) as distinct from the Donatists; and many moderns have followed him. But Optatus (i. 22) seems to say that Constantine learned for the first time that there was a schism in Africa when he received the petition of April 313 (note, p. 314). It is therefore probable that in the present letter he simply substituted a Christian phrase for the "corporation" of the Milan ordinance (§ 10). Moreover it should be observed that here "the Catholic Church of the Christians" primarily applies, not to the existing church in Africa, but to the church before the persecution, and before the schism. If it had been desired

to intimate that the property of the Church should be restored to the Catholic *party* in Africa, the sentence would naturally have run: "If any of the property of the *churches* . . . thou shouldest cause it to be restored *to the Catholic Church*."

5. 18 *Imperial Letter*] The following letter refers to Anulinus' letter of 15 April 313 (note, p. 314), and presupposes a later covering letter (*relatio*) of the same official (§ 19, note). Hence it cannot be dated earlier than May, and is probably a good deal later. The Synod which it announces was held on 2 Oct. 313.

Miltiades] Pope, July 310—January 314. He is sometimes (incorrectly) called Melchiades (Lightfoot, *Clem.* i. 298).

Mark] Nothing is known of this person. He is not included in the list of bishops at the Roman Synod given by Optatus (i. 23). Mr. H. S. Jones conjectures that he was the successor of Pope Sylvester (*J.T.S.* xxvi. 406).

documents] A libellus in a leather case, sealed, and a second libellus, without seal, attached to the case, presented by the Donatist bishops to Anulinus and forwarded by him to Constantine 15 April 313. His "relatio" is preserved in Aug., *Ep.* 88. 2.

right honourable] λαμπροτάτου: cp. § 23. The higher officials in the Imperial Service belonged to one or other of the three classes of rank, the illustres, spectabiles and clarissimi; and λαμπρότατοι was an official equivalent in Greek for the members of the last-named class. See Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 1923, i. 34.

Cæcilian] See note, p. 314.

19 *ten bishops*] A second "relatio" of Anulinus stated that the emperor had ordered that ten bishops from each of the dissentient parties in Africa should be sent to the Synod, and that they had agreed to this arrangement (Aug., *Brev. Coll.* iii. 24).

Reticius and Maternus and Marinus] Bishops respectively of Autun, Cologne and Arles, in Gaul. Marinus was president of the Council of Arles in 314.

21 *Imperial Letter*] For the orginal Latin see Mansi, ii. 466. A companion letter is preserved in the original Latin giving instructions for conveying the African bishops to the Council of Arles (Routh, *R.S.* iv. 297). According to the MSS. it was addressed to Ælafius, possibly a vicar of Africa otherwise unknown. It is couched in language somewhat similar to the present letter. Like it, it begins with an account of the abortive proceedings at Rome. On this letter see N. H. Baynes and H. S. Jones in *J.T.S.* xxvi. 37 ff., 406 f.

from Gaul] Cp. § 19.

the bishop of Rome] No reference is made to the fifteen Italian bishops mentioned by Optatus (i. 23) as having taken part in the proceedings.

22 *a few persons*, etc.] Cp. the letter to Ælafius: "They

thought fit to [say] that the whole of their case had not been heard, but that the bishops had shut themselves up in a certain place and had given judgement as it pleased themselves."

by voluntary agreement] The petition of the Donatists prayed that the case should be heard by Gaulish judges (note, p. 314), and they assented to other matters of detail (§ 19, note). Since they had agreed to the constitution of the court, they ought to have submitted to its ruling.

23 *corrector*] In the fourth century this was the title of the governors of certain provinces. See Marquardt–Mommsen, iv. 229 f.

6. 1 *Imperial Letter*] Written in 313 or early in 314, for Anulinus was still proconsul (§ 4); and probably in the first months of the year 313 (§ 5, note).

"*folles*"] The *follis* was originally a bag of small coins, containing 3125 double denarii = 1 lb. gold, and was used in making large payments. Popular usage transferred the name from the bag to the coin, and the double denarius itself was known as *follis*. See Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, i. 50.

2 *Hosius*] This seems to be the earliest mention in extant records of the famous bishop of Cordova, probably the most influential ecclesiastic of his time. He was born about 255, apparently in Spain, and was promoted to the episcopate near the end of the century. He was a confessor under Maximian. He seems to have guided the religious policy of Constantine from 313 to about 326. On his suggestion the Council of Nicæa was summoned, and he seems to have been its president. For thirty years he was a champion of orthodoxy against the Arians; but in 357 he was forced to sign an Arian creed at Sirmium. He died soon afterwards at the age of over a hundred years. On him see *D.C.B.* iii. 162 ff.

5 *go to the above-mentioned judges*] At first sight this seems to inaugurate a persecution of the Donatists. It is in fact probable that the "persons of unstable mind" (§ 4) were members of that body. But Constantine seems to have known nothing about the Donatist schism before April 313, and it is most unlikely that while their accusations against Cæcilian were *sub lite—i.e.* from April 313 to November 316 (note, p. 314 f.)—active measures were taken against them by the state. Possibly, therefore, the Emperor had heard reports of disturbances, of the character of which he had a false conception, and gave orders to Anulinus to deal with them. The words of the letter are consistent with the supposition that he imagined the disturbers of the peace to be pagans. However that may be, it seems that the letter was written between January and April, 313.

7. 1 *Imperial Letter*] The "relatio" of Anulinus, dated 15 April 313 (Aug., *Ep.* 88. 2) was apparently the reply to this letter. Anulinus begins by saying, almost in the very words

of the letter, that he had made it known "to Cæcilian and those who act under him and who are called clerics," and describes them as "wholly freed from every office (of the state) by the indulgence" of the emperor, and as persons "who give attendance to divine things with due reverence, the catholic sanctity of the law being preserved" (cp. § 2). Thus Constantine's letter must be dated about 1 April 313. It seems to have brought him into touch with the Donatists: for with the reply of Anulinus was sent to him their petition, and the dossier which, according to Optatus, first informed him of their existence (see note, p. 314).

7. 2 *the Catholic church over which Cæcilian presides*] These words have often been taken to indicate the anti-Donatists. But this seems impossible (6. 5, note). It may simply mean that the immunity granted was for the territory included in the jurisdiction of the bishop of Carthage, who, according to the reports that came to Constantine, was named Cæcilian.

public offices] Immunity from public service was a valuable concession. For example, decurions were responsible for the payment of taxes to the imperial treasury in their respective districts. As the taxes often could not be collected, they were obliged to pay the dues of defaulters out of their own property. The exemption of the clergy from civil office seems to have been granted for the first time by this letter to Anulinus, which applies only to Africa. Eventually it was extended to the whole empire. Cp. the letter of Constantine to the corrector of Lucania and Bruttium on 21 October 319 (Theodosian Code, xvi. 2. 2, ed. Mommsen, i. 2, p. 835), which resembles the epistle before us.

8, 9 The greater part of these chapters is repeated in *V.C.* i. 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56; ii. 1, 2, 3, 19, 20, in a somewhat different form. The passages in *V.C.* are in the same order as their parallels in this book, with one exception: 8. 9b corresponds to *V.C.* i. 56 f., while 8. 10–13 corresponds to *V.C.* i. 54, 55. In *V.C.* i. 48 reference is made to the decennalia of Constantine, July 315, in such a way as to make it clear that the chapters mentioned above belong to the period subsequent to that event. It follows that cc. 8, 9 of the present book deal only with events of the years subsequent to 314, and therefore give no account of the first war between Constantine and Licinius in that year (note, p. 265). It will be shown below (8. 10, note) that Licinius' persecution of the Christians probably began as late as 319.

8. 2 *tyrants*] Maxentius and Maximin.

He who had been deemed worthy, etc.] See notes, p. 267 and p. 288 f.

4 *bestowed on him . . . the right*, etc.] This perhaps refers to the treaty in December 314, when a new partition of the Empire was made, and five of the European provinces passed

from Licinius to Constantine (Gibbon, i. 432). On no other occasion could Constantine be said to have *granted* authority to Licinius.

8. 8 *godly subjects*] θεοσεβεῖς. This seems to refer especially to the clergy (cp. § 18, note); for in the parallel passage (*V.C.* i. 51) Eusebius substitutes the phrase "ministers of God" (τῷ θεῷ λειτουργούς), and proceeds to say that when no charges against them could be substantiated, he made a law that the bishops should not communicate with each other, or hold synods. In *V.C.* the attack on the "ministers of God" was Licinius' first act of persecution. But see § 10.

9 *destroyed*] See ix. 11.

10 *First*] It would be natural, if Licinius was meditating a war against his western colleague, and supposed that the Church was disaffected towards him, that he should have dismissed the Christians who were about his person at an early period in his preparations. Eusebius' statement in this place is confirmed by *Anon. Vales.* 5. 20, where we are given the date: "In the parts of the East, when Licinius (*i.e.* the younger Licinius, son of the Emperor) and Constantine [were consuls], with sudden frenzy Licinius ordered all Christians to be repelled from the palace." The year of the consulate of Constantine and Licinius the younger was 319. There is good evidence that from 315 to 319 the two emperors were ostensibly on good terms with each other. Their amity would have come to an end if Licinius had contravened the constitution of Milan (see F. Görres, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Licinianische Christenverfolgung*, 1875, p. 5 ff.). Possibly the expulsion of Christians from the palace was shortly preceded by the proceedings against the "godly subjects" (§ 8), which could scarcely be described as persecution.

soldiers in cities] "*i.e.* the police-officers and guardians of the peace, whose importance became steadily superior with every decade to that of the civil service" (Harnack, *Expansion*, ii. 60).

deprived of honourable rank] This statement is confirmed by the twelfth Nicene canon. There, as here, it is implied that the dismissed soldiers were officers. See also the edict of Constantine in 324 (*V.C.* ii. 33). The degradation of military officers did not immediately follow the expulsion of those in the palaces, as seems to be implied here; for in *V.C.* i. 53 Eusebius places between them two edicts, one forbidding women to worship with men, and the other directing that corporate worship was to be in the open air.

11–13 The laws and acts of Licinius mentioned here were not directly aimed at the Christians.

12 *assessments*] The rapacity of Licinius is mentioned by other writers, *e.g.* Vict., *Epit.* 41. 8; *Anon. Val.* 5. 22.

revaluations of land] For the purpose of taxation. *V.C.* i. 55 explains that by new systems of measurement small

holdings were reckoned as larger than they actually were; while the names of taxpayers, who had died long before, were placed in the registers.

13 *banishments*] Cp. § 18. That many Christians were banished is proved by the edict of Constantine in 324 (*V.C.* ii. 30–32).

old dotard] Aurelius Victor (*Epit.* 41. 8) states that Licinius was nearly sixty years old when he died (324). But he was a companion in arms of Galerius in his earliest campaigns (Lact., *Mort.* 20. 3), and he besought Maximin to respect his white hairs about 308 (*ib.* 32. 2). This indicates that he was born not later than 260, and was about 65 years of age at his death.

14 *by the contrivance of the governors*] Cp. § 17. This implies that Licinius did not issue an edict against the bishops. They were probably not put to death ostensibly as Christians, but on criminal charges.

15 *at Amasea*] According to *V.C.* ii. 2 the churches in Amasea itself were razed to the ground, while in the various districts of the province they were closed by the governors.

again thrown down] See viii. 2. 4.

17 *some of the bishops*] Possibly a small number. Cp. § 14, "the most highly respected of them."

cast into the depths of the sea] This cannot have been done at Amasea, which was fifty miles inland, but in one of the "other cities" (§ 15)—perhaps Amisus. For the refusal of burial, cp. *M.P.* 11. 15, note.

18 *men of God*] θεοσεβεῖς. Apparently the bishops (cp. § 17). Cp. next note.

conceived the idea] This determination was frustrated (§ 19). So it is plain that under Licinius there was no general persecution.

9. 4 *Crispus*] The eldest son of Constantine, who had been made Cæsar in 317. He was in command of the navy, and won a notable victory over Amandus, Licinius' admiral, in the Hellespont. In the parallel passage of *V.C.* (ii. 3) there is almost nothing corresponding to §§ 4, 5, and the mention of Crispus in § 6 (= *V.C.* ii. 19) is omitted. This is due to the fact that in 326 Crispus was put to death by Constantine, apparently on a charge of treason.

won the victory] Licinius was defeated first at Adrianople, 3 July, and secondly, when he had fled to Byzantium and had been forced to cross the straits, at Chrysopolis (Scutari), a few miles north of Chalcedon, 18 or 20 September 324. For the dates see P. Jouguet in *Académie des inscriptions, Comptes Rendus*, 1906, p. 231 ff. After the latter engagement Licinius was permitted to live as a private citizen at Thessalonica; but Constantine, after a short time, had him put to death.

5 *reeled over the same precipice*] *i.e.* was assassinated. See the parallel passage, *V.C.* ii. 18, 19.

9. 7 *sons*] Crispus, son of Minervina, and Constantine, Constantius and Constans, sons of Fausta. The latter three were respectively twelve, seven and four years old.

8 *ordinances*] The reference is to two constitutions mentioned in *V.C.* ii. 23, one of which is preserved in the following chapters (24–43). They seem to have been issued about the end of 324.

9 This sentence, apart from some necessary alterations, is that which formed the conclusion of the first edition of Book ix. See ix. 11. 9.

Pref. 1, 2 (S) Repeated from viii. 2. 4, 5. Three points in which this passage differs from the earlier one are noteworthy: (1) The date of the dissemination of the letter is April instead of March; (2) it is not called an "imperial" letter; and (3) the name of the governor of Palestine is mentioned. We may infer that while in viii. 2 Eusebius has in view the arrival in Palestine of the edict of the emperors, he gives here the date of the edict of the præses which brought it to the notice of the inhabitants of his province, which would be some days later. Hence the dates are consistent with each other.

8 (L) Cp. viii. 13. 7.

1. 1 *three ministries* (L)] Namely, as Reader, Interpreter and Exorcist.

before he had trial, etc.] A reference to the Second Edict, under which the clergy were imprisoned. It implies that (as L states) Procopius was a cleric.

Flavian (L)] Cp. Pref. 1 (S). Three governors are named as rulers of Palestine during the persecution: Flavian, 303–304 (3. 1); Urban, 305–308 (3. 1; 7. 7); and Firmilian, 309–310 (8. 1; 11. 7). See also 11. 31; 13. 1 (S).

beheaded] Not because he refused to sacrifice, but because he was adjudged worthy of treason.

2 *the fourth day of the week* (S)] Wednesday. An error; for 7 June 303 was Monday. Cp. 7. 1, note.

3–5 (S) Repeated from viii. 3. 1–4. See notes there.

4 (S) *Nevertheless they endured*, etc.] viii. 3. 1 has "whereat some met a miserable end to their life." Changed here in view of § 5 (S), where it is said that only two received the crown at Cæsarea, and those not under torture.

Thus in the case of one man] The preceding clause in viii. 3. 2, "Others, again, emerged from the conflict otherwise," is necessary to make sense.

yea, and he was loosed] The text is faulty. This is a *fourth* person. See viii. 3. 3.

he was struck] viii. 3. 4; "these were struck"—*i.e.* three, two of whom are not mentioned here.

5b. *vicennalia* (L)] Cp. 2. 4 (S). The vicennalia (see viii. 13. 9, note) of Diocletian were celebrated on the first day of his twentieth year, *i.e.* 20 November 303 (Lact., *Mort.* 17. 1).

tortures (L)] No doubt the tortures decreed by the Third Edict were made more severe as the day of amnesty drew near,

in order to secure that the imprisoned clergy should apostatize before they were liberated. Cp. viii. 6. 10, note.

1. 5c. *deacon* (L)] Zacchæus, Alpheus (§ 5e L) and Romanus (2. 1) were in the lower orders of the ministry, and were therefore subject to the provisions of the Second and Third Edicts (viii. 6. 8–10).

5e. *Alpheus*] Ἅλφειος. Syr. *'Alphīus*. Not Alphæus (Ἁλφαῖος = *Chalpai*), as Cureton and others have it.

5k. *the two of them* (L)] Zacchæus and Alpheus.

King of all (L)] Cp. S: "Christ Jesus alone *as King*." This utterance was probably construed as treasonable; for up to this time mere confession was not a capital offence. Cp. § 1, note.

2. 2 *death by fire*] No doubt Romanus' speech (§ 1 L) included some phrases which might be regarded as disloyal, and because of them he was sentenced to death.

Diocletian (L)] S has "the emperor," by which it is natural to understand Diocletian. It would seem therefore that Romanus was sentenced many weeks before he died; for Diocletian was in Rome in the middle of November (Lact., *Mort.* 17. 1). So L says that he witnessed "for a long time" after his tongue was cut out, and S that he "suffered for a very long time" in prison (§ 4).

3 *put back the martyr*, etc. (L)] This is in accordance with Diocletian's resolve that the Christians should not be put to death.

spoke powerfully (L)] This incident is not mentioned in S. There is very strong evidence that the confessors of Tipasa in 484 spoke after their tongues were amputated; and the same is said of St. Leodegar, *c.* 672. Such occurrences were regarded at the time as miraculous. But there is no doubt that articulate speech is possible without the aid of the tongue. See Robertson, *Church History* ii. 268; iii. 9; E.T.B. Twisleton, *The Tongue not essential to Speech*, 1873.

4 *on the approach*, etc. (S)] He died three days before the vicennalia (§ 1; 1. 5b (L), note).

3. 1 *Urban*] See 1. 1, note.

imperial edicts] The Fourth Edict. The succeeding context shows that it sanctioned the death penalty for Christians who refused to sacrifice. Mason (pp. 212–221) identifies this edict with one which was published by Maximian at Rome in the previous year, according to the *Passio S. Savini* (Baluze, *Miscellanea*, ii. 47). The story goes that, when Maximian was celebrating the *Ludi Ceriales* on 17 April 304, the crowd tumultuously demanded the proscription of the Christians. In consequence a motion was introduced into the senate which was passed on 22 April, and was embodied in an edict by Maximian. It was to the effect that Christians who declined to sacrifice to the gods should be put to death, and

that their property should be confiscated. On the other hand Mr. Norman H. Baynes (*Classical Quarterly*, xviii. 189 ff.) regards the story of the *Passio* as unhistorical, and he gives strong reasons for the belief that the originator of the edict was not Maximian but Galerius. He dates it in February 304. On either assumption it is puzzling to find that a martyr named Calliopius was put to death for the Name on 7 April 304 at Pompeiopolis in Lycia, one of Diocletian's provinces (Allard, i. 305). But this is the only such martyrdom in the dominion of Diocletian which can be assigned with certainty to the year 304. However it may be explained, the present passage shows that the Fourth Edict did not reach Palestine (or probably Egypt) before March 305. This may have been due to Diocletian's illness (viii. 13. 11, note). The edict could hardly have been put in force in the provinces under his rule without his consent (cp. Gwatkin, ii. 337), and he seems to have been unable to attend to state business throughout the previous year. He may have given his sanction—reluctantly, we may well believe—after his partial recovery at the end of February 305.

3. 1 *Timothy*] He seems to have died on 21 March (vol. i. p. 327, note [1]).

Agapius] Mentioned also in §§ 2, 3 (L). This is not the Agapius to whom and his companions the following section of the book is devoted. For him see § 4. For the martyrdom of the Agapius here mentioned see c. 6. Both of them came from Gaza.

the Thecla of our day] So called to distinguish her from the Thecla commemorated in the *Acts of Paul* (iii. 3. 5, note). She is mentioned again in 6. 3, but her martyrdom is not recorded.

2 *a report* (L)] Cp. S. The rumour was apparently unfounded; but see 6. 3.

the rest of the Phrygians (L)] This seems to imply that Agapius and Thecla were Phrygians. But the Menæa Magna states that Thecla was a native of Byzia, which has been identified with Bizya, in Thrace, or Bethshan (*D.C.B.*, iv. 896). The other Phrygians are not mentioned elsewhere.

3 *of whom*, etc. (S)] L postpones this list to § 4.

Agapius and his companions (L)] Agapius, Thecla and the other Phrygians (§§ 1, 2).

4 *many days* (L)] Probably the true reading is "not many days" (S). If Timothy (vol. i, p. 327) suffered on 21 March, the imprisonment of the present group of confessors would seem to have lasted not more than three days—*i.e.* up to 24 March (see below).

Agapius] Mentioned here for the first time: the principal member, according to the heading in L, of the group.

subdeacon (L)] The Syriac word so translated—*pdīqā'*—

seems to be very rare. Mr. William Kennedy suggests that it is an abbreviated transliteration of ὑποδιάκονος. Cp. § 3 (S).

3. 4 *Diospolis*] Lydda (Acts ix. 32), now Ludd.

another Alexander (L)] From Gaza (S, § 3).

those two (L)] Agapius and the second Dionysius mentioned above.

5 *change*] The abdication of Diocletian and Maximian on 1 May 305, in consequence of which Maximin Daza became Emperor of the East. Cp. viii. 13. 11, and see note, p. 266.

those who laid aside their rule (L)] *i.e.* Diocletian and Maximian. But in the wars after the abdication Diocletian had no part. The chief actors therein were Galerius, Constantine, Licinius, Maximin and Maxentius.

6, 7 Cp. viii. 14. 18; 15.

4. 1 *the moment he came to the principate* (S)] This statement (which agrees with L) seems to be unhistorical. See ix. 9a. 2, note.

5 *Gagæ* (S)] On the south-east coast of Lycia. It has been identified with Hascooe (*D.G.R.G.* i. 926).

6 *Pamphilus* (L)] See 11. 1, note.

8 *rescript*] Lit. "letter." It was probably an instruction to governors restoring the Fourth Edict in a severer form.

making registers (L)] This preparation of the lists is not mentioned in S. It implies that the order to sacrifice was determined upon a considerable time before it was carried into effect. Possibly the rescript was not made public till the registers were completed.

approached Urban] From the chronological notes in §§ 11, 13, 15 it appears that the attack on Urban was made on 31 March. On 1 April Apphianus was tortured, and on 2 April he was condemned and executed.

9, 13 *the power of Jesus* (L)] Cp. § 12; viii. 7. 2.

15 *the Preparation* (S)] *i.e.* Friday. An error: for 2 April 306 was Tuesday.

5. 1 (S) *About the same time and on the same days*] The vague "about the same time" and the precise "on the same days" are somewhat contradictory. Ulpian is not mentioned in L. See Introd., p. 8.

2 *akin to his* (L)] *i.e.* to the suffering of Apphianus.

shortly afterwards] Such phrases are sometimes misleading (vi. 8. 4, note; cp. vi. 2. 2, note). Taking this passage, however, with 6. 1 we may infer that Eusebius supposed Ædesius to have suffered in the third year of the persecution, *i.e.* between April and December 306. But it is clear that he was ignorant of the date. Since the martyrdom took place under Hierocles (§ 3 L and note), it must have been after May 306, and probably in 307.

5. 2 *Pamphilus* (L)] See 11. 1, note.

mines in Palestine] At Phæno : see viii. 13. 5, note.

in a philosopher's garb (S)] Cp. 11. 19, note.

3 *Hierocles* (L)] Probably the Neo-platonist of that name twice mentioned by Lactantius (*Mort.* 16. 4; *Inst.* v. 2). After serving in the imperial court he seems to have been appointed first governor of Palmyra (*C.I.L.* iii, No. 133) and subsequently præses of Bithynia (Lact., *Mort. l.c.*; cp. Allard, i. 149, note). In 303 he was a *judex* (provincial governor) and a prime author and counsellor of the persecution, in which he afterwards took part (Lact. *l.cc.*). It is therefore probable that he was among those who urged Diocletian to declare war against the Church (viii. 2. 4, note). About that time he published a work against Christianity, entitled *The Lover of Truth, to the Christians*, which no doubt had much influence. Eusebius wrote a reply to it (*contra Hieroclem*), as apparently did also Macarius Magnes (vi. 19. 2, note). In the present passage he appears as prefect of Egypt. He was obviously the successor of Culcianus in that office (ix. 11. 4), and was appointed thereto by Maximin not earlier than June 306 and probably not before February 307 (viii. 9. 7, note). See Mason, 58–61; Allard, i. 217–221. His rule was of short duration, for Satrius Arrianus was prefect in March 308 (Grenfell and Hunt, *New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri*, No. 78).

to brothel-keepers] This punishment was inflicted, though rarely, on virgins in the earlier persecutions. Thus Tertullian (*Apol.* 50) mentions an isolated instance of it, and Cyprian (*de Mortalitate* 15) regards it as likely to occur in an impending assault on the Church. Under Decius, in Asia, Sabina was threatened with it (*Mart. Pion.* 7. 6), though it is not recorded that she suffered it; and under Septimius Severus Potamiæna was apparently the subject of a similar threat (vi. 5. 2). Other instances might perhaps be cited. Mommsen (*Strafrecht*, p. 955) believed that it was not enjoined by any general ordinance, but was devised by over-zealous officials. It seems, however, to have become a more usual penalty during the great persecution, especially in Maximin's dominions: see viii. 12. 3, note; 14. 14, 16; *M.P.* 7. 4 (L); 8. 5; *Passio Theodoti* 13; *Acta Didymi et Theodoræ*; Prudentius, *Peristephanon.* 14 (Ruinart, pp. 341, 397 ff., 458). See Mason, pp. 228–236.

Of the martyrs on the soil of Palestine, etc. (L)] This remark proves that from 2 April 306 (4. 15) to 20 November 307 (6. 1)—a period of over nineteen months—there was not a single martyrdom in the whole of Palestine.

6. 1 *Friday* (L)] So S: "the day before the Sabbath." But 20 November 307 was Thursday. Eusebius seems to have confused the day of Agapius' contest, Thursday

20 November, with that of his death, Friday 21 November. See § 7, note.

6. 1 *his birthday*] Usually the anniversary of the accession of an emperor was regarded as his birthday. But Maximin donned the purple on May 1 (3. 5, note). Probably he observed Diocletian's birthday (November 20 : Lact., *Mort.* 17. 1) as his own (Dodwell, *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ*, Oxford, 1684. p. 322).

3 *three times or more* (S)] Only one such occasion is mentioned (3. 1 ; cp. 3. 2). Agapius had been condemned nearly three years before.

4 *brought him round* (L)] Cp. v. 1. 44.

7 *survived a single day*] Thus he died on 21 November.

7. 1 *the second day of the month*] S adds : " on the very Lord's Day of our Saviour's resurrection," which might be taken to indicate Easter Day. But the only year of the persecution in which Easter fell on April 2 was 310. Perhaps therefore the phrase means merely Sunday (cp. L § 2). But in 308 April 2 was Friday. Hence S has fallen into error. Now in § 2, where L repeats the date, Eusebius says " these events " occurred on a Lord's Day in April, without giving the day of the month ; and his narrative hints that the proceedings were not confined to a single day (see next note). It is possible therefore that the execution of Theodosia took place a couple of days after her arrest. If so, the mistake of S may be due to abridgement of the somewhat obscure story of L. For similar errors see 1. 2 (S) ; 4. 15 (S) ; 6. 1.

2 *while she yet breathed*] The speech which follows in L could hardly have been uttered immediately after the tortures. Probably it belongs to a second appearing of Theodosia before Urban on the following day.

copper mines] S adds " at Phæno." Cp. viii. 13. 5, note.

3 *Silvanus* (S)] See 13. 4 f., 9 f. In L the confession of Silvanus and his companions is briefly told as the fifth in a series, which is arranged in the order of time (§ 4). S gives him special prominence by expanding this short notice and placing it, out of the chronological sequence, before that of Dominus. The confession of Silvanus recorded here was the third which he endured (13. 5, L).

ankles of their feet, etc. (S)] Cp. viii. 12. 10 and note. This is the earliest dated example of that form of punishment.

4 *three youths*] For the sequel see 8. 2 f.

saintly old man] Auxentius (S).

Nor did the fury, etc. (L)] This incident occurred on the same day (see below : " a single hour "). But its place in the sequence is not indicated. It is omitted in S. Cp. 5. 3, second note.

when these things . . . were ended (L)] S, " among these last," implies that the committal of Pamphilus took place on

the same day, *i.e.* November 5; while L implies that it was the last act of the governor on that occasion. For Pamphilus see 11. 1, note.

7. 8 *of whom some still remain to our time* (L)] This clause could not have been written by Eusebius. It is probably a gloss of the translator of L. Note that the final clause of the sentence is practically a repetition of the first ("we have narrated these things rapidly"). Cp. 4. 7 (textual note, L); 9. 13.

a time may arise, etc.] This is a plain statement that Eusebius looked forward to writing an account of subordinate officials, such as the governors Urban and Firmilian (cp. 11. 31, S; 13. 10, L). The explanation in S, "that is to say, Maximin himself and his accomplices," points to a development of the scheme after the death of Maximin. But as both L and S seem to have been written before the final persecution of Maximin (Introd., p. 7), we must regard the words as an addition made by Eusebius after 313. See Introd., p. 9.

8. 1 *Porphyry Mines* (L)] Cp. S. Dark red porphyry was quarried at a mountain in the eastern desert, Jebel Dokhan, about 230 miles north of Thebes, and 50 miles from the Red Sea (*Encyc. Bib.* 1206).

Firmilian] See 1. 1, note.

confessors] Hitherto we have found mention of only two Egyptian Christians (3. 3 S, 4 L). But from this point onwards the Egyptians have a prominent place in the narrative. Between 309 and 311 we read of large bodies of confessors who were deported from Egypt (8. 1–9: 97, with women and children; 8. 13: 130); besides others who were arrested in Palestine (10. 1; 11. 5), not to speak of many in the mines at Phæno (13. 1–3—over 100; 13. 6 S), who may not have been among those just mentioned. The number of Palestinian confessors seems to have been much smaller (8. 2-4; 13. 4, 5). In the same period nineteen Palestinian martyrs are recorded by name, and some whose names are not given (13. 9 f.)—about forty in all, while of Egyptian martyrs twelve are named and many are mentioned without name—about thirty in all. These figures are instructive as indirect evidence of the severity of the persecution in Egypt itself. Cp. viii. 8; 9. 6–8; 10, and for a later time viii. 9. 4, 5.

Diocæsarea (L)] Sepphoris (now Safuriyeh), about three miles north of Nazareth, which was once the most important city in Galilee. The statement that its inhabitants were Jews at the time of the persecution is confirmed by Socrates (*H.E.* ii. 33), who tells us that, about 352, the Jews who lived there took up arms against the Romans, and that in consequence the city was destroyed. Cp. *Chronicle* (p. 320). C says that it was called in Syriac Lud. But the Greek name of

Lud (the Lydda of Acts ix. 32) was Diospolis. C is therefore ignorantly glossed at this point. The error of the glossator may be due to the destruction of the city many years before he wrote.

8. 1 *names of prophets* (L)] Cp. 11. 8.

mines] See viii. 13. 5, note.

2 *to fight in single combat*] For the practice of sending criminals to the ludi, schools of fighting and hunting, see Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, pp. 953–955.

5 *a woman*] Ennatha (§ 8, note).

threat of fornication] Cp. 5. 3, second note.

8 *Ennatha* (L)] The woman mentioned in § 5. She is anonymous in S and described simply as (spiritual) sister of Valentina (§§ 6, 8).

10 *our people* (L)] S: "his own people (*τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν*)." Cp. i. 4. 2, note. The meaning in both is the Christians, as distinguished from Jews, Samaritans and Gentiles.

13 *the second*] For the first see § 1.

the same afflictions] Not by order of Firmilian, but in Egypt (S).

in Cilicia] To work in mines there (11. 6).

9. 1 *relief*] This respite must have lasted little more than three months. For Paul's martyrdom on July 25 (8. 12) was followed by the sentence of the Egyptians to penal servitude (8. 13), and the persecution began again before November 13 (§ 5). It was much shorter than other cessations of violence to which Eusebius calls no attention (see, *e.g.*, 5. 3, third note). Moreover it did not bring complete relief to the Church. Pamphilus was not released from prison (7. 4, 6; 11. 5), and apparently the Egyptian confessors who were sent to Cilicia (8. 13) were still in exile at the end of 309 (10. 1). Why then does Eusebius mention it? To that question two answers may be given, not unconnected with each other. (1) The peace, such as it was, was not confined to Palestine; it extended to the Thebais (S), and therefore probably to the whole of Maximin's dominions. It was due, not to the apathy or pre-occupation of minor officials, but to an order of the emperor himself. (2) The immediate sequel of the pause was the inauguration of a new policy with reference to religion, as will be shown below (§ 2, note). It is not improbable that the lull was brought about in order that Maximin might perfect his fresh scheme for destroying Christianity. At all events it was a critical point in his career as a persecutor.

It may be well to call attention to the fact that L expressly states that the respite was short, in harmony with S: "we were *just about* to regain a breath of pure air." Mr. G. W. Richardson (*Classical Review*, xix. 99), ignoring the heading in C (vol. i, p. 328), maintains that the martyrdom of Antoninus (§ 5) took place, not in the sixth year, but in the seventh. On

that hypothesis the interval of peace lasted fifteen months, by no means a short period.

9. 1 *mines of the Thebais* (S)] See 8. 1, note.

the scourge of God (L)] For a similar (or identical) phrase, see ix. 10. 13, 14 (cp. i. 8. 5; viii. 16. 3). If the text is sound, the meaning of the sentence may be that the occasion of the recrudescence of the persecution was some unusual calamity, such as often was the prelude to attacks on the Church. But in S Eusebius confesses himself ignorant of the cause of Maximin's new measures. It is therefore not impossible that we have here a gloss (not very happily placed) referring to the death of Maximin. Cp. 7. 8 (see note).

dux (L)] S: "he who was placed in charge of the troops" (§ 2). See ix. 5. 2, note.

2 *an edict* (S)] The edict (*lit.* letter), though implied, is not mentioned in L. We may call it the Fifth Edict. Eusebius obviously does not give us its exact terms; but we may accept his statement that it contained three main provisions. They are the following. 1. The restoration of the temples. This is not a measure of persecution against the Christians, but the beginning of an attempt to revivify paganism, which, as the ordinance itself testifies, had fallen into a low estate. It must be connected with the institution of a pagan hierarchy more than two years later (ix. 4. 2 and note). The two are rightly brought together, as though parts of one scheme, in viii. 14. 9; and their importance in the eyes of Eusebius is signified by the fact that no other reference is made in that book to Maximin's religious policy. The order to re-edify the temples is as well the most novel as the most significant part of the Fifth Edict. 2. The command that all should sacrifice. This was not new: see 4. 8. It portended persecution for the Christians; but taking it with the previous order, we can believe that it had another aim. It was a call to the heathen to observe the customs, so generally neglected, of their nominal religion. It may have been the part of the edict to which they objected as unnecessary and burdensome (S). 3. The "defiling" of things sold in the markets and of those who entered the baths. Less intolerable perhaps to the Christians than the previous ordinance, it was calculated to bring before the heathen at all seasons the claims of the gods. Thus we find throughout the whole edict the purpose of re-establishing paganism on a firm basis. Henceforth the war against Christianity was to be waged on new lines. It was not to be so much a conflict between the State and the Church, as a conflict between the old religion and the new. To fit it for the contest paganism must be renovated and strengthened. That was the primary aim of the edict.

4 *rushed forward*] Cp. 4. 8; 5. 3.

5 *Antoninus*] Allard (ii. 129) suggests that he was the confessor

mentioned in a note (cent. vii) which follows the Book of Esther in the Codex Sinaiticus, and runs thus : " It was compared with an exceedingly ancient copy corrected by the holy martyr Pamphilus; and at the end of the same ancient roll (which began at 1 Kings and closed at Esther) such an autograph note of the martyr as here follows is subjoined in the margin : ' It was compared and corrected with the Hexapla of Origen, corrected by him. Antoninus the confessor compared; Pamphilus corrected the book in prison . . . ; and it is hardly too much to say that such a copy as this would not be easy to find.' " There is a similar note at the end of 2 Esdras (Nehemiah), which does not refer to the imprisonment of Pamphilus (Swete, *O. T. in Greek*, ii. 212, 780).

9. 6 *Scythopolis*] the Bethshan of the Old Testament. See Smith, *Holy Land*, p. 357 ff.

7 *in the neighbourhood* (S)] That is, at Scythopolis, according to L, which describes this " military tribune " as in charge of the markets there.

worse than his name] The meaning of the name Maxys is unknown.

8 *forbade them to be buried*] Cp. *M.P.* 11. 15, note.

the holy men (S)] ἀνδρῶν. The phrase excludes Ennathas, who was burnt. But see § 9 (L).

13 *some of whom*, etc. (L)] Probably a gloss of the translator. Cp. 7. 8 (L), note.

10. 1 *bringing food* (L)] Cp. iv. 23. 10.

confessors in Cilicia] See 8. 13.

Promus] On this rare name see Allard, ii. 125, note.

Elijah] For the name see 8. 1 (L); 11. 8; 13. 3 (L).

2 *tenth day* (L)] According to S, the eleventh.

Abshelama (L)] S, correctly, Apselamus; Syr. *'Abshlōmō* (not Absalom). The name is genuine Aramaic and heathen, meaning " slave of Shelama," as Professor Burkitt tells us. See *Martyrdom of Habbib* 35, in his *Euphemia and the Goth*, p. 125. The name is found in *D. Addai*, p. 33.

2 (3 L) *Eleutheropolis*] Beit Jibrin (C, A : Beth Gobrin). Eleutheropolis is the Greek name, given to it when it was re-founded by Septimius Severus (Smith, *Holy Land*, pp. 231–233).

3 *a certain person* (L)] Asclepius (S). Observe the scanty and disparaging notice of the heretic martyr. Cp. v. 16. 21, note.

11. 1 *Pamphilus*] Pamphilus, the dear friend of Eusebius, from whom he took his appellation, " Eusebius Pamphili " (cp. Introd., p. 1), and whom he called his " master " (§ 1e), was born at Beirut, or in its neighbourhood (§ 2). Assuming, as seems probable, that he was considerably older than Eusebius, we may date his birth about 250. His ancestors were of noble rank (§ 1 f.), and from them he inherited considerable wealth. Educated in the famous schools of his native town, he became

proficient in secular learning (§§ 1e, 2), and for some time played a notable part in the public affairs of Phœnicia (§ 1 f.). But in early manhood the character of his life underwent a complete change. He abandoned his political career, distributed his property to the poor and needy, devoted himself to the study of theology and the Holy Scriptures, and lived in poverty (§§ 1e, 2). It was probably at that time that he went to Alexandria, and became a pupil of Pierius (Photius, 118. Cp. vii. 32. 26, 27 and note; Introd., p. 16). At Alexandria, perhaps, his reverence for Origen had its beginning, or was enhanced. From Alexandria he returned northwards, and settled in Cæsarea, attracted, it may be, by the fame of Origen's library. There he spent the remainder of his life, and there Eusebius met him for the first time, during the episcopate of Agapius. By this time he was a presbyter (vii. 32. 25; cp. *M.P.* 11. 1g). At Cæsarea he founded a school of sacred learning (*ib.*), in which Eusebius was his enthusiastic associate. Among the martyrs mentioned by Eusebius at least three were his pupils—the brothers Apphianus (4. 6) and Ædesius (5. 2 L), and Porphyry (11. 15); and possibly a fourth—Antoninus (9. 5, note). Much time was spent by Pamphilus and Eusebius and their companions in transcribing and correcting manuscripts of the Scriptures, and especially of the Septuagint as edited in the Hexapla of Origen (see Swete, 76 ff.; Kenyon, *Textual Crit. of N.T.*, 67 f., 87, 118, 119). Pamphilus largely increased the library at Cæsarea, gathering into it many works of Origen and other ecclesiastical writers (vi. 32. 3; Jer. *Ep.* 34. 1). He also copied with his own hand the greater number of Origen's writings, including the twenty-five books of the commentary on the Minor Prophets (vi. 36. 2), the transcript of which later came into the hands of Jerome (Jer. *V.I.*, 75; Photius, *l.c.*). In 308 Pamphilus was brought before Urban, and after examination by torture was committed to prison (7. 5, 6). There he remained for fifteen months (5, note), till his martyrdom on 16 February 310 (§§ 7, 14). The period of his imprisonment was not spent in idleness. In that short time he wrote, in collaboration with Eusebius, five books of the Apology for Origen (vi. 33. 4 and note), and corrected the text of at least one long section of the Septuagint (9. 5, note).

11.

1c (L) *the Egyptians*] See §§ 5–13.

among whom] *i.e.* among those who were in adolescence (§ 15). Porphyry was not an Egyptian.

Theodulus] "Slave of God."

1f (L) *attendant in a governor's household*] Theodulus (§ 24).

1g (L) *Seleucus*] He seems here to be numbered among the clergy, though his rank is not stated. Perhaps his care of widows, etc. (§ 22), was connected with an office in the Church.

11.

1h (L) *a many-stringed lyre*] Eusebius applies this image, almost in the same words, to the sensible world in *Theoph.* i. 28.

1i (L) *patriarchs, prophets*] The twelve sons of Jacob (Acts vii. 8. 9) and the twelve minor prophets.

1l (L) *Jerusalem*] Cp. § 9.

1n (L) *two . . . catechumens*] Porphyry and Julian, the only martyrs by fire (§§ 18, 26).

another] Theodulus (§ 24).

2 *true to his name* (L)] Pamphilus means "beloved of all."

3 *a work whose special subject is his life* (S)] The work is lost. It was probably written immediately after Eusebius finished the Apology for Origen (vi. 33. 4, note), in the year 310. It is mentioned as published in vi. 32. 3 (see note) and vii. 32. 25. Probably most of what is told of him in the present book is repeated from it.

5 *branding iron*] Cp. viii. 12. 10, and note.

these had languished two (*entire* S) *years*] From this statement it has been usually inferred that Pamphilus was in prison for two years. But his imprisonment lasted from 5 November 308 (7. 4 and note) to 16 February 310 (§§ 7, 14); a little more than fifteen months. C has "about two years," which may be an attempt to get rid of the supposed contradiction. Now in the present passage Eusebius has in view, not one person, but the group of fellow-prisoners, Pamphilus, Valens and Paul —and especially, it would seem, the last two. Neither of them has been previously mentioned by name. They *may* be the "others" who were incarcerated on the same day as Pamphilus (7. 4, 6). But they may have been committed to prison earlier. It is unlikely, though there were no martyrdoms to be recorded between November 307 (c. 6) and March 308 (c. 7), that there were no confessions in that period: Eusebius implies (7. 1) that there was then no cessation of persecution. If Valens and Paul were imprisoned about the close of 307, the statement before us may be accepted as correct. On the other hand, if they went to prison with Pamphilus, Eusebius has here gone astray. It has been said, however, that "it is inconceivable" that he should have been in error on this point (*Classical Quarterly*, xix. 97). Accordingly the improbable suggestion is made that the respite which began in the later months of 309 lasted, not for three months, but for more than a year (9. 1 and note). On this hypothesis Pamphilus was in prison from November 309 to February 311—two years and three months. But is the error inconceivable? Dean Swift, a more accurate writer than Eusebius, declared in his autobiography that his first residence with Sir William Temple continued "about two years" (*Prose Works*, xi. 377): actually it lasted less than twelve months (F. E. Ball, *Swift Correspondence*, i. 1–3; iii. 414).

6 *confessors in Cilicia*] Probably the Egyptians mentioned in 8. 13 as sent there.

11. 7 *day after* (L), *following day* (S)] Thus the Egyptians were arrested on February 15.

and his companions] The two who had been imprisoned with him, Valens and Paul (§§ 4, 5).

8 *that of some prophet*] Cp. the Egyptian confessors at Diocæsarea (8. 1 L). There, however, the (Christian) fathers of the confessors are represented to have given them the names. Here it seems that the confessors had been given pagan names by their (heathen) fathers, and that they themselves had exchanged them for the names of prophets. It would follow that the confessors were converts to Christianity.

Elijah, etc.] These five names seem to have been the actual names of the five Egyptian martyrs.

10 *enquired closely*] Firmilian was evidently not aware that Jerusalem was the ancient name of the city which at this time was known as Ælia (see iv. 6. 4). The later name was used by the Christians themselves (vi. 20. 1; *M.P.* 1. 1 L; § 4; but see § 1c).

15 *that the bodies should receive burial*] According to law the bodies of executed criminals might be given for burial, if request was made for them; and it seems that the demand was on the whole seldom refused (*Digest*, 48. 24; cp. Burkitt, *Euphemia*, p. 126). But it is obvious that the exceptions were more numerous in the case of Christian martyrs. See iv. 15. 41; v. 1. 59, 61; viii. 7. 6; x. 8. 17; *M.P.* 9. 8; Lact., *Mort.* 21. 11. In one instance we find that after burial the bodies were exhumed, and thrown into the sea (viii. 6. 7). No doubt it was felt that there was some risk in permitting the burial of the leaders of a highly organized and disaffected body like the Christian Church. Meetings at the graves might be dangerous (cp. iv. 15. 41; ix. 2: prohibition of assemblies in the cemeteries).

18 *slow fire*] Cp. viii. 6. 3, note.

19 *clad in the garb of a philosopher*] Like Justin Martyr (iv. 8. 3, note; 11. 8), Heraclas (vi. 19. 14) and Ædesius (5. 2 S).

20 *saluted one of the martyrs*] Cp. 7. 1; §§ 20, 24, 25; vi. 3. 4; Tert. *Ad uxorem*, ii. 4 ("Who will suffer (his wife) to creep into the prison in order to kiss the chains of a martyr?").

22 *departure from the army*] Cp. viii. 4. 2, 3; *M.P.* 13. 4 (L).

26 *slow fire*] Cp. § 18.

28 *for four days*] Cp. 9. 8 f.; v. 1. 59–62.

church-buildings (L)] Cp. vii. 30. 19, note. That churches were still standing in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea is not surprising (ix. 10. 8, note). That they were "splendid" is less probable. The bodies may not have been placed in the churches till after the death of Firmilian (§ 30, note; 13. 1 S).

29 *Batanea as it is called*] The Greek equivalent of Bashan. See Smith, *Holy Land*, 542.

30 *The last of the martyrs at Cæsarea*] More than a year before the last Edict of Galerius. In the rest of Palestine there seems to have been little persecution for six months, up to September 310 (13. 1 L; cp. 13. 1 S). The pause may have been due to the death of Firmilian (§ 31 S).

11.

31 (S) The parallel in L is 13. 10, where the language is more general, and Firmilian is not named. Cp. 7. 7 f.

including the tyrants themselves] No doubt Maximin and Maxentius. If so, we have here a later insertion in the shorter text. See Introd., p. 9.

12. (S) This chapter is to a large extent a repetition in different language of viii. 1. 7, 8; 2. 2, 3. There is no parallel in L.

at the beginning] There is no such statement elsewhere in *M.P.* The reference seems to be to viii. 2. 2. If so, it indicates that S was an appendix to Book viii.

the ensuing peace] See 13. 12–14 (S).

13. 1 *Egyptians* (L)] Cp. viii. 6. 10, note.

their right eyes, etc. (L)] Cp. viii. 12. 10, note.

Zoar (L)] Near Phæno (viii. 13. 5, note). Cp. S: "in the neighbourhood of the copper mines."

the ruler of the province (S)] Apparently Firmilian's successor.

2 *the superintendent of the mines* (S)] The dux (L). According to S the dux (§ 3, "the officer in command of the armies") came in at a later stage. The superintendent was no doubt a military officer. See Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 950 f.

3 *Peleus*, etc.] L contradicts S, describing Elijah, no doubt the nameless presbyter of S, as a layman. L tells us that all four were Egyptians, while S leaves the nationality of Patermuthius and Elijah uncertain. For the name Elijah, cp. 8. 1; 11. 8.

4 *having attained freedom*, etc. (L)] Cp. 11. 22.

5 *third contest* (L)] See 7. 3 (S), 4 (L). This third contest took place on the day of Pamphilus' imprisonment.

7 (S) *excellence of memory*] Cp. 11. 4.

8 (S) *a large congregation*] The context shows that this phrase is no exaggeration. The "congregation" seems to have been larger than might have been looked for at the mines of Phæno. Moreover there is no hint in L that Eusebius was an eye-witness of the sufferings of the thirty-nine martyrs, and S does not distinctly state that John was one of them. Probably, therefore, Eusebius "first beheld" John elsewhere, perhaps in Egypt (viii. 9. 4, note) during the peace of 311 (ix. 9a. 2, note). Cp. Introd., pp. 2, 8, 9.

9 *The fourth day*, etc. (L)] Four days after Galerius' Edict of Toleration was published at Nicomedia (viii. 17. 2).

10 *forty . . . in number* (L)] "Forty save one" according to S. Probably S excludes Silvanus from the number (cp. viii. 13. 5), while L includes him.

But since we have reached, etc. (L)] Cp. 11. 31 (S).

13. 11–13 (8) Cp. viii. 13. 10, 11.

12 *not two entire years*] The persecution began in February 303 (viii. 2. 4, notes) and ended in the West on the abdication of Maximian, 1 May 305. It thus lasted in the West for more than two calendar years. But Eusebius is thinking of his persecution years, the first of which was a period of twenty months, ending December 304 (Introd., p. 38 f.).

14 Cp. viii. 16. 1.

must be placed on record.] Plainly S, like Book viii of the *History*, originally ended with a copy of the "recantation"—the Edict of Toleration of Galerius (viii. 17. 3–11).

APPENDIX TO BOOK VIII.

1 *the edict*] The Edict of Toleration published by Galerius (viii. 17. 2–11).

such a confession.] This can hardly refer to the "confession" of viii. 17. 1. It was distinct from and previous to the edict; the confession here mentioned was embodied in the edict (§ 6).

departed this life] Early in May 311. See viii. 17. 2, note.

it is recorded] λόγος ἔχει. Eusebius is using a document.

in the army] See viii. 4, 1–4.

2 *those who were the more advanced*] Diocletian and Maximian. For the abdication see note, p. 266. It is recorded in viii. 13. 10, 11; *M.P.* 3. 5, 6. But probably neither of these passages is referred to in the words "as we have already stated" (Introd., p. 9).

passed the remainder of their existence] Not true of Maximian. See viii. 13. 15.

3 *the one who had attained*, etc.] Diocletian. It is not necessary to assume that when this passage was written he was dead, though it speaks of his "end" (τέλος, § 2). Eusebius may mean merely that he had contracted an incurable disease. The death of Diocletian is not expressly mentioned in the *History*. But Lactantius (*Mort.* 43. 1) states, and Eusebius (ix. 11. 1) and Victor (*Epit.* 39. 7) seem to imply, that Maximin survived him; and Lactantius (*Mort.* 42) speaks as though he died not long after the battle of the Milvian Bridge. On the other hand the Theodosian Code (xiii. 10. 2 : ed. Mommsen, i. 2, pp. 763) apparently indicates that he was alive on 1 June 313. Thus his death might be dated in the summer of that year. Yet in the *Chronicle* (p. 312) it appears under 316; and this date is confirmed by the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* (*M.G.H.*, Chron. Min., i. 231)—which gives the day, 3 December—and Zos. ii. 8. The contradictions of our authorities may be due to false reports. Gossip about an erstwhile Augustus, living in retirement, would be both voluminous and of doubtful value. Thus the sentence before us gives no indication of the date of the Appendix.

strangling] See viii. 13. 15, note.

4 *he who held the last place*] Galerius (note, p. 266).

mentioned.] Apparently a description of his "pains" was given in the lost context preceding § 1.

4 *that kindest*] The passage, from this point to § 5, "our doctrine," is repeated, almost word for word, from viii. 13. 12(last clause)–14.

6 *subsequently*] After the abdication (§ 2).

who . . . were admitted] Constantine, Licinius and Maximin. In the names of these three and Galerius was the edict issued. Cp. viii. 17. 3–5, note.

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